This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

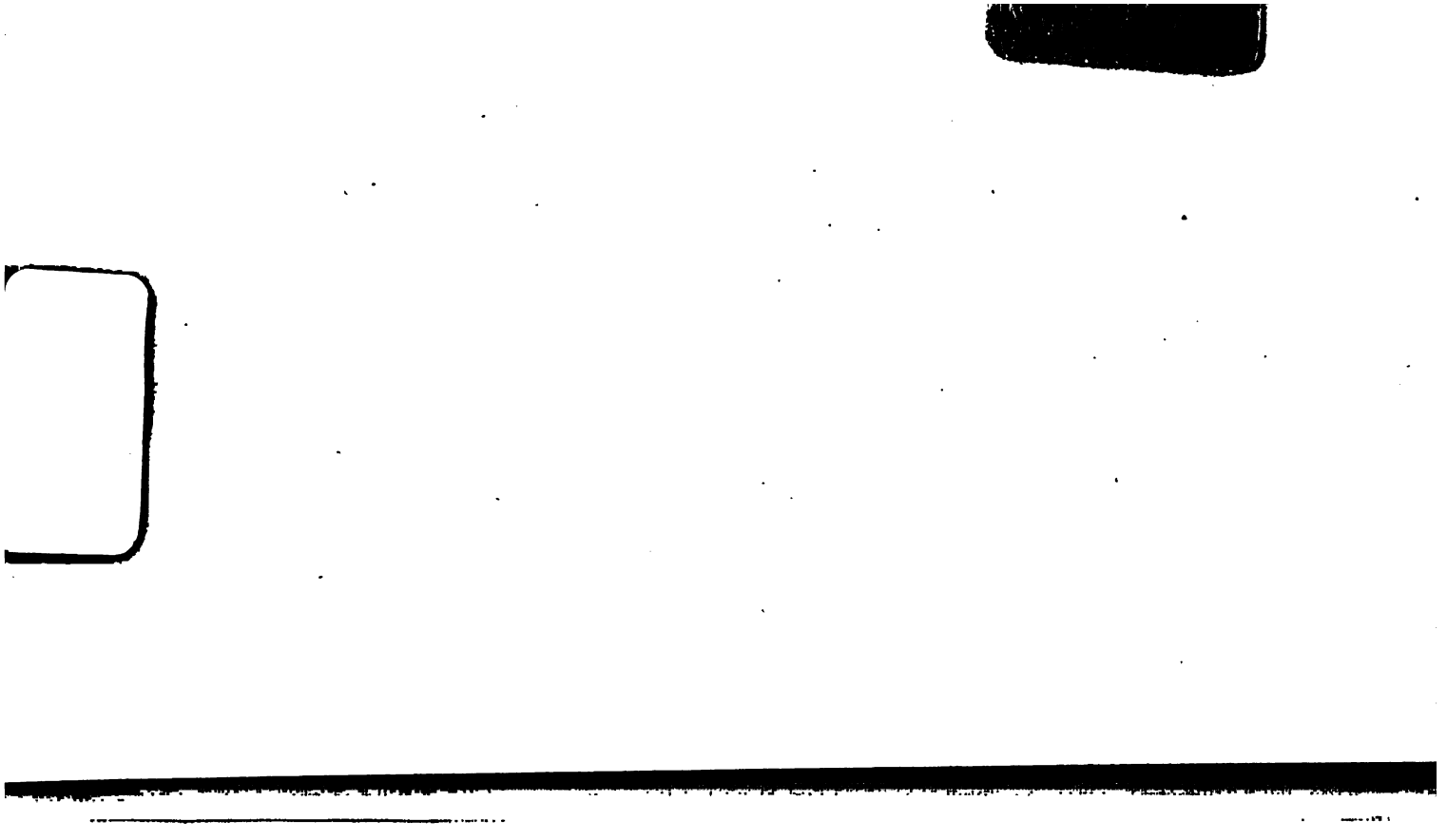
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08158738 2



Bourgeois
B XX

TRAVELS

IN

SPAIN.

VOLUME II.

TRAVELS IN SPAIN:

CONTAINING

A NEW, ACCURATE, AND COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY THE

CHEVALIER DE BOURGOANNE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

COPIOUS EXTRACTS

FROM THE

ESSAYS ON SPAIN

OF

M. PEYRON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWELVE COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATER-NOSTER-ROW, 1789.

NYPL PUBLIC

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

THE PRESENT STATE OF SPAIN.

WE ſhall now proceed to conſider the navy of Spain. Charles III. found it in an imperfect ſtate, though Ferdinand VI. had leſs neglected this than other branches of the adminiſtration, and though his miniſter, the marquis de la Enſenada is eſteemed its reſtorer. It is divided into three departments, thoſe of Ferrol, Carthagena and Cadiz.

The firſt has real inconveniencies, on account of the unhealthineſs of the climate, and the frequent rains which retard the operations in the port whence no veſſel can ſail but with one particular wind. This department for the north coaſt of Spain would, perhaps, be better placed at Vigo, the climate of which is very healthy, the ſoil fertile, and the harbour ſafe, and ſpacious; this change has more than once been in contemplation; in caſe it had taken place, arſenals and magazines muſt have been eſtabliſhed at Vigo, where at preſent there is not one of either; and the harbour muſt have been fortified at a very conſiderable expence, becauſe it is a kind of open road; this, together with its vicinity to Portugal, which has long been conſidered as the natural enemy of Spain, for no other reaſon, perhaps, than becauſe it is its neareſt neighbour, ſeemed to appear forbidding circumſtances; and ſuch conſiderations of oeconomy and policy have hitherto prevented the execution of this project.

The

The department of Carthagena has many advantages over that of Ferrol. The ſafety of its harbour is known by an old proverb among ſeamen, who ſay, there are but three good ports for veſſels, the months of June and July, and the harbour of Carthagena. This ſafety extends to the arſenals and dock yards, which in a narrow place may, if I may ſo ſay, *be locked up by a ſingle key*; according to the expreſſion of the Spaniſh ſailors. Cathagena therefore is the port where the greateſt number of ſhips are built, caulked, and careened. The preſent monarch eſtabliſhed, in 1770, a corps of navy engineers under the direction of M. Gauthier, of whom I ſhall hereafter ſpeak.

The department of Cadiz is, however, the moſt important of the three, on account of its favourable ſituation for the departure of fleets. As I mean to conduct my reader to Cadiz, where I reſided ſome time, I ſhall refer him to my account of it for the information I have

been able to collect relative to its port, dock-yards and arſenals; which will ſerve as a ſupplement to what I ſhall here ſay of the Spaniſh navy.

It is governed much in the ſame manner as that of France. Inſtead of vice-admirals there are captains general, who enjoy the ſame honours as thoſe of the army. Don Louis de Cordova, whom we have ſeen at the head of the Spaniſh ſquadrons, is at preſent captain general of the navy. Immediately after the captains general rank, as in France, the lieutenants general, who are at preſent ſeventeen in number, and the commodores to the number of fifteen. But in the Spaniſh navy, there is an intermediate rank between theſe and captains of veſſels or poſt-captains; that of brigadier. There are at preſent forty officers of this deſcription. The number of captains of ſhips is a hundred and fifteen, and of thoſe of frigates a hundred and fifty-two. Beſides theſe there is a general inſpector of the navy, who annually viſits

viſits the three departments, in each of which he has a ſub-inſpector.

One rule to which there are but few exceptions is, that as in France, to acquire rank in the navy, it is neceſſary to have paſſed through the Garde-marine. This corps was eſtabliſhed in 1717; it conſiſts of three companies, each containing ninety-two cadets, for whoſe inſtruction there is an academy, compoſed of a director and eight profeſſors.

With theſe means of obtaining the theory of the difficult and perilous art of navigation, and the facility the vaſt extent of the Spaniſh monarchy offers to acquire a practical knowledge in frequent and diſtant expeditions, malignity might be authoriſed to judge with ſeverity the officers of the Spaniſh navy; and we know that even in Spain this was freely done in the courſe of the late war. It is not for me to form an opinion of theſe deciſions, which ſome events ſeemed to juſtify; I leave that to our ſea officers

who ſailed and fought by the ſide of their allies; let them declare whether or not ſuch deciſions were not frequently dictated by prejudice and injuſtice, and if ſome Spaniſh officers did not acquire a right to their eſteem as well by their talents as their bravery. I ſhall not name one of them, becauſe I wiſh not to combat the pretenſions of any. In ſuch caſes, to mention commanders by name can be but little flattering, becauſe men of merit have no need of the ſuffrages of an obſcure individual, and ſilence may be taken for an injury. The officers of the navy are, with reſpect to military rewards, upon a footing with thoſe of the army; they find places ſuitable to their profeſſions in the three departments. The vice-royalties, governments of provinces, or places in America are indiſcriminately given to general officers of the army and thoſe of the navy. But the officers of the Spaniſh navy have, in the exerciſe of their profeſſion, many other means of enriching themſelves, of which they take advantage, and for this

this reaſon render the king's favours leſs neceſſary.

The ſailors are claſſed as in France, and divided into three departments. The regiſters of the claſſes make the number of the whole amount to fifty thouſand. But well informed perſons aſſured me, that in 1759, there were but thirty-ſix thouſand; and in 1776 it would have been difficult to have found ſo many. It appears however that a greater number was employed in the courſe of the late war, if we may judge of the number of veſſels of every rate then fitted out. Spain was not reduced to the ſole reſource of the claſſes, and the ſhips beſides were but ſeldom completely manned. On the other hand, a reaſon may be given for the ſmaller number of Spaniſh ſailors, ſo little proportioned to the population of the kingdom. In every ſtate maritime commerce can alone render flouriſhing and ſupply the royal navy. The commerce of Spain being much more paſſive than active, and its

interior navigation reduced almoſt to nothing, few ſailors are employed in merchant ſhips. At preſent theſe amount to about four or five hundred ſail, three-fourths of which are from the coaſts of Catalonia, and moſt of the remainder from Biſcay. This number will appear very moderate, eſpecially when it is recollected that England has, perhaps, upwards of ſeven thouſand merchant men, Holland at leaſt ſix thouſand ſix hundred, and France about four or five thouſand. It ſeems by this gradation, that ſtates are more particularly invited by their ſituation to become maritime powers, and that for Spain to become ſuch more efforts are neceſſary than in thoſe countries which have received this advantage from Nature herſelf. One circumſtance is in favour of her progreſs in this reſpect; the eſtabliſhment of a free commerce between the inhabitants and the greateſt part of her colonies. This meaſure, which is as recent as 1778, has already ſenſibly increaſed the number

ber of her trading veſſels, and cannot but continue ſo to do.

Spain has alſo for the ſervice of her ſhips of war, a marine infantry, compoſed of twelve battalions, which conſiſting of a hundred and ſixty-eight men each, form a corps of about twelve thouſand men.

Beſides theſe there is a particular corps of artillery, of two thouſand five hundred and ninety-five men, for whom there are theoretical and practical ſchools in each of the three departments.

Spain has alſo a ſociety of pilots, with ſchools of pilotage.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. the Spaniards adopted the Engliſh principles in building their ſhips. Don Jorge Juan, one of the moſt able naval officers as well in theory as practice, had gone to the true ſource, and afterwards drew to Spain ſome Engliſh ſhip-builders. When Charles

Charles III. came from Naples to take poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, he found the building of the Spaniſh ſhips entruſted to individuals of a nation which had but too much power in the cabinet of his predeceſſor, and which at that time was at war with France. In this war he ſoon took a part, and was a victim to his affection for France. The Engliſh took from him the Havannah, and twelve ſhips of war which were in that port. This check given to the Spaniſh navy was a new motive with the monarch to put it upon a reſpectable footing.

He renounced the Engliſh manner of building, and aſked the court of France for a French ſhip-builder. The duke of Choiſeul ſent him M. Gautier, who, although a young man, had already given proofs of great talents in his profeſſion. This ſtranger was to the navy what M. Maritz had been to the artillery. Spirit of party, national prejudices, and more eſpecially the jealouſy of ſome individuals, created

created him, as they had done M. Maritz, ſuch difficulties as almoſt ſuppreſſed his zeal. The marquis d'Oſſun, then ambaſſador from France to the court of Madrid, whom his catholic majeſty honoured with his favour, ſupported M. Gautier in his experiments, and enabled him to triumph over his enemies. He began his operations and diſplayed in them equal activity and intelligence. His firſt efforts, however, were not followed by all the ſucceſs which might have been wiſhed.

The form of the veſſels of every rate which he conſtructed enabled them to ſail with a velocity until then unknown to the Spaniards; but they were found not to be ſufficiently covered in, which made it very difficult to manœuvre them in bad weather. He has ſince improved his method to ſuch a degree as to leave but little to deſire in that reſpect. A great part of the Spaniſh veſſels employed in the late war were built by M. Gautier; and ſeveral of them excited the admiration

tion of both French and Engliſh ſeamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent perſons of both theſe nations, to be the fineſt veſſel in Europe.

But while we do juſtice to the hulls and ſolidity of the Spaniſh ſhips, it muſt be admitted that all ſeamen exclaim with reaſon againſt their heavineſs of ſailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and ſtowed; which appears probable, ſince thoſe taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the Engliſh, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who diſdain not to learn, even in the ſchool of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ſhip-building according to the models which the ſucceſs of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier

M. Gautier is not the ſole author of the change. He has not only formed artiſts who partake with him of the merit; but Spain has national ſhip-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loſs leſs ſenſible to the Spaniſh navy.

The diſpleaſure of the miniſter had for ſome years condemned M. Gautier to inactivity; and the court of France took this occaſion to reclaim from her ally a ſubject, who ſeemed to have become uſeleſs. The king of Spain reſtored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the ſalary he enjoyed in the Spaniſh navy. He laid but one reſtriction upon this favour, and which does no leſs honour to the goodneſs of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier: This was that he ſhould again dedicate his talents to the ſervice of Spain, if hereafter need ſhould require them.

Since his return, I have heard him regretted, even by thoſe who had oppoſed,

tion of both French and Engliſh ſeamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent perſons of both theſe nations, to be the fineſt veſſel in Europe.

But while we do juſtice to the hulls and ſolidity of the Spaniſh ſhips, it muſt be admitted that all ſeamen exclaim with reaſon againſt their heavineſs of ſailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and ſtowed; which appears probable, ſince thoſe taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the Engliſh, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who diſdain not to learn, even in the ſchool of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ſhip-building according to the models which the ſucceſs of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier

M. Gautier is not the ſole author of the change. He has not only formed artiſts who partake with him of the merit; but Spain has national ſhip-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loſs leſs ſenſible to the Spaniſh navy.

The diſpleaſure of the miniſter had for ſome years condemned M. Gautier to inactivity; and the court of France took this occaſion to reclaim from her ally a ſubject, who ſeemed to have become uſeleſs. The king of Spain reſtored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the ſalary he enjoyed in the Spaniſh navy. He laid but one reſtriction upon this favour, and which does no leſs honour to the goodneſs of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier: This was that he ſhould again dedicate his talents to the ſervice of Spain, if hereafter need ſhould require them.

Since his return, I have heard him regretted, even by thoſe who had oppoſed,

tion of both French and Engliſh ſeamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent perſons of both theſe nations, to be the fineſt veſſel in Europe.

But while we do juſtice to the hulls and ſolidity of the Spaniſh ſhips, it muſt be admitted that all ſeamen exclaim with reaſon againſt their heavineſs of ſailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and ſtowed; which appears probable, ſince thoſe taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the Engliſh, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who diſdain not to learn, even in the ſchool of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ſhip-building according to the models which the ſucceſs of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier

M. Gautier is not the ſole author of the change. He has not only formed artiſts who partake with him of the merit; but Spain has national ſhip-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loſs leſs ſenſible to the Spaniſh navy.

The diſpleaſure of the miniſter had for ſome years condemned M. Gautier to inactivity; and the court of France took this occaſion to reclaim from her ally a ſubject, who ſeemed to have become uſeleſs. The king of Spain reſtored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the ſalary he enjoyed in the Spaniſh navy. He laid but one reſtriction upon this favour, and which does no leſs honour to the goodneſs of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier: This was that he ſhould again dedicate his talents to the ſervice of Spain, if hereafter need ſhould require them.

Since his return, I have heard him regretted, even by thoſe who had oppoſed,

or

tion of both French and Engliſh ſeamen. The Conception, built according to his plan, was judged by intelligent perſons of both theſe nations, to be the fineſt veſſel in Europe.

But while we do juſtice to the hulls and ſolidity of the Spaniſh ſhips, it muſt be admitted that all ſeamen exclaim with reaſon againſt their heavineſs of ſailing. This I have been told was owing to the manner in which they are rigged and ſtowed; which appears probable, ſince thoſe taken in 1780 by admiral Rodney from M. de Langara, acquired under the management of the Engliſh, a celerity which they were not thought capable of receiving. The Spaniards, who diſdain not to learn, even in the ſchool of their enemies, are endeavouring, if the public prints are to be believed, to improve their ſhip-building according to the models which the ſucceſs of war delivered into their hands.

M. Gautier

M. Gautier is not the ſole author of the change. He has not only formed artiſts who partake with him of the merit; but Spain has national ſhip-builders, who, without his aid, have improved their art, and will render his loſs leſs ſenſible to the Spaniſh navy.

The diſpleaſure of the miniſter had for ſome years condemned M. Gautier to inactivity; and the court of France took this occaſion to reclaim from her ally a ſubject, who ſeemed to have become uſeleſs. The king of Spain reſtored M. Gautier to his country, continuing to him the ſalary he enjoyed in the Spaniſh navy. He laid but one reſtriction upon this favour, and which does no leſs honour to the goodneſs of the monarch than to the talents of M. Gautier: This was that he ſhould again dedicate his talents to the ſervice of Spain, if hereafter need ſhould require them.

Since his return, I have heard him regretted, even by thoſe who had oppoſed,

or were hurt at his ſucceſs, which proves, that in that nation, truly loyal and generous, juſtice gets the better of prejudices againſt foreigners. My own experience has proved to me that theſe are exaggerated, or at leaſt that they ought to be more excuſed. What other nation, in the ſame circumſtances as that of Spain, would not have ſhewn more of this odious ſentiment? Can it be ſuppoſed that when Louis XIV. penſioned learned foreigners; when he ſought beyond his frontiers, renowned artiſts or ſkilful manufacturers, he did not excite againſt them the hatred of the French, who imagined they had a greater right to his bounty, or that their indignation roſe not againſt the contempt ſhewn their talents by penſioning foreign induſtry? The ſelf love and patience of the Spaniards have, within the laſt century, been put to much ſeverer proofs. In the retinue of the French prince, who came to receive their crown, there appeared a crowd of foreigners, who filled up all the avenues to the the throne; French favourites,

French

French valets de chambres, and French confeſſors, ſurround the monarch. The princeſs of Urſins and the French ambaſſadors reigned by turns in the cabinet. A Frenchman repaired to Spain to reform their finances*; and French generals were placed at the head of their armies †. Soon afterwards an Italian eccleſiaſtic ‡, invited by the ſecond wife of Philip V. ſhook the monarchy by the agitation which his turbulent character endeavoured to excite in Europe; nor did his diſgrace, the proper puniſhment of his tumultuous adminiſtration, for a long time reſtore the Spaniards to their former ſtate. A Dutchman §, ſtill more extravagant, gained the favour of the monarch, ſeized in one year on every dignity and every favour, and ſoon afterwards eſcaped loaded with the curſes of the people, carrying from Spain nothing

* M. Orry.

† The marſhal de Teſſé, the duke of Berwick and the duke of Vendome.

‡ The abbé Alberoni.

§ Ripperda.

but

but the ſtigma of a ſtate criminal. Under the ſucceeding monarch two foreign nations* reigned in the midſt of the Spaniards by the ſide of their throne. An Iriſh miniſter†, raiſed himſelf by that intrigue, of which the court was the theatre, but by the eaſineſs of the yoke he impoſed, his quality of foreigner was overlooked, and he preſerved his influence under the new ſovereign, who quitted the throne of Naples for that of Spain. One of the Italians‡, who accompanied the monarch, ſoon preſided over the department of finances; and a few years afterwards, another Italian miniſter § ſucceeded M. Wall. The diſcipline of the infantry was reformed by an Iriſhman ||, whilſt two Frenchmen improved **, one

* The Engliſh and the Italians; the former by M. Keen, their ambaſſador; the latter by the muſician, Farinelli.

† M. Wall.

‡ The marquis of Squilace.

§ The marquis of Grimaldi.

|| M. O'Reilly.

** M. Maretz.

the

the artillery, the other *; the building of ſhips. At London; Stockholm, Paris, Vienna, and Venice, the Spaniſh ſovereign was repreſented by foreigners †. Strangers have eſtabliſhed manufactures ‡; and preſide over the conſtruction of great roads and canals §, direct ſieges ||, command armies **; cauſe plans of finance to be adopted ††; and offer money to government upon the moſt advantageous terms ‡‡. In commercial places theſe are ſtill the perſons who diſcourage

* M. Gautier.

† The prince Maſſerano, the count de Lacy, the marquis of Grimaldi, before he became miniſter; the count de Mahoni, the marquis de Squilace after his retreat from the miniſtry.

‡ At Valencia, Barcelona, Talaverna, Madrid, &c.

§ M. le Maur.

|| The ſame M. le Maur at Mahon; M. d'Arcon at Gibraltar.

** The duke de Crillon at Mahon, and at the camp of St. Roche; the prince of Naſſau on the floating batteries, &c. &c.

†† M. Cabanus.

‡‡ The principal French commercial houſes eſtabliſhed at Madrid.

the Spaniards by their activity and ſucceſs. At Barcelona, Valencia, Cadiz, Bilboa, and other great trading cities, the richeſt merchants are foreigners. I have frequently heard the hatred they inſpire in Spain declaimed againſt. I confeſs, that if any thing has ſurpriſed me, it is the eaſe with which the Spaniards ſuffer them in their country, and the diſpoſition they have to love them, provided they be not prevented by their haughty manners and inſulting pretenſions: and ſhould ſome of the natives look upon them with an eye of envy, and be offended at the concourſe of fortunate ſtrangers, whoſe ſucceſs of every kind ſeems inceſſantly to upbraid Spaniſh idleneſs and ignorance, would not this be excuſable by that ſelf-love which men in all countries have ſo much difficulty in conquering, and by that attachment ſo natural to national glory which may be honoured, if men will, by the fine name of patriotiſm? After apologizing to the reader for this digreſſion, which was neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of my own

own mind, and which he too perhaps may not find abſolutely impertinent. I ſhall proceed with what I have yet further to ſay, concerning the Spaniſh navy.

It certainly owes much to the preſent monarch. His efforts to new model and increaſe it, which were begun in the firſt years of his reign, have not been ineffectual. In 1764, the Spaniſh navy conſiſted only of thirty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and about thirty frigates. In 1770, there were fifty-one ſhips of from fifty-eight to one hundred and twelve guns; twenty-two frigates, eight boys, nine xebecs, and twelve other ſmall ſhips of war. Their number has ſince increaſed. Spain at ſeveral periods of the late war had not leſs than ſixty ſhips of the line; and ſince the peace, government has made every effort to repair the loſſes ſuſtained from the elements and the enemy.

The three diviſions in Europe of the navy of Spain, are not the only places

where ſhips of war are built. There are dock-yards at the Havannah; and a fund of ſeven hundred thouſand piaſtres was ſometime ſince eſtabliſhed to carry on the works.

Spain and her colonies might furniſh her navy with all the ſhip-timber neceſſary for that ſervice. There are great quantities in the mountains of Aſturia and Navarre, and particularly in the Pyrenees on the ſide of Arragon and Catalonia, there is a ſpecies of pine more ſolid and durable than the oak. The plain of Cuba contains many cedars, although it has been thought to be exhauſted by the quantities drawn from the country adjacent to the coaſts. In thoſe of Cumana alſo, there is timber fit for ſhip-building, and during the adminiſtration of M. le Bailli d'Arriaga, it was in contemplation to apply it to that uſe. But Spain has not derived all the advantages ſhe might have done from theſe reſources, and conſtantly depends upon the northern ſtates, at leaſt for a ſup-

a ſupply of maſts. According to the account which the bank of St. Charles has this year given to the public, in conſequence of its being charged with the furniſhing of naval ſtores, it appears that from the firſt of December 1784, to the firſt of December 1785, upwards of eight millions and a half of reals were paid for maſts alone, which were brought from the north. Spain is ſtill obliged to employ Dutch veſſels. She will be able to do without them, if the direct commerce ſhe has for ſome years carried on in the Baltic continues to proſper. She has already begun to eſtabliſh connexions with Ruſſia for naval ſtores. In the courſe of the year 1781, four Ruſſian veſſels unloaded their cargoes of hemp, in the department of Ferrol, and took back wools from the neighbouring coaſts. The two nations cannot but find their advantage in rendering this communication more frequent.

It were alſo to be wiſhed, that until Spain ſhall be in a ſituation to ſupply her own wants of this kind, intelligent agents from that kingdom might be employed in Livonia, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be to make a good choice of purchaſes at every price. It is well known that the Ruſſian merchants, whoſe aid is had recourſe to by maritime powers, keep for their own nation the fineſt maſts; that the Engliſh, more active and leſs parſimonious than their competitors, purchaſe ſome of theſe, and that other powers obtain none but what are of a ſecondary quality. If the Spaniards would imitate them, the ſum they might ſacrifice in the ſpeculation would produce more than an equivalent by the advantage of procuring the beſt ſtores, and that of avoiding the riſk of being ſurpriſed, unprepared, into a naval war.

They are ſtill nearer the time of being independent of other powers for the hemp neceſſary for their navy. For many years they received from the

the north all they made uſe of in their navy; but at preſent the kingdom of Granada furniſhes a great quantity, and ſome is obtained from Navarre and Arragon. At this moment moſt of the cordage, cables, and ſail-cloth uſed in Spain, are made from hemp grown in the country, and are not on this account of a worſe quality, as the officers of the French navy, which during the late war was ſupplied with them from the Spaniſh arſenals, may have obſerved.

The Spaniards have alſo adopted from the Engliſh the method of ſheathing the bottoms of their ſhips of war with copper, but for want of knowing how to prepare for the purpoſe the copper from Mexico, they have hitherto imported all their ſheets of that metal from Trieſte and Sweden.

All theſe circumſtances prove that Spain poſſeſſes within herſelf every thing neceſſary to her navy, and that after having long neglected theſe benefactions

of Nature, ſhe now makes ſucceſsful efforts to render it independent of other nations. To give an idea of the progreſs already made in this reſpect, under the princes of the Bourbon line, it will be ſufficient to recollect, that under Philip V. Spain purchaſed from the Dutch, veſſels ready built, and the cordage neceſſary for her fleets and galleons; from the French her ſail-cloths; copper from the Germans; tin and lead for the ſervice of the artillery from the Engliſh; and galleys from the Genoeſe. She let her timber rot upon the ground, and neglected the cultivation of hemp. Solely intent on the mines of Mexico and Peru, of which the rich contributions only ſerved to impoveriſh the ſtate, ſhe neglected to work her own mines, which might have contributed to defend it; and thus war became doubly burthenſome to the nation. The evil became ſtill greater under the reign of Charles II. but the ſucceeding monarchs have rouſed Spain from her fatal ſtupor. The nation, which waited but for this,

entered

entered into their views, and found miniſters capable of ſeconding them. The miniſter who preſided over the naval department during the late war, was reproached with an improper œconomy. His ſucceſſor, although introduced by him into the favour of the monarch, and brought up in the ſame principles, makes a wiſer uſe of his power, and ſeems convinced, that to ſerve his ſovereign well, it is not ſo neceſſary to prevent him from incurring expences, as to be particularly careful to confine them to ſuch objects as are uſeful.

The navy naturally leads me to ſpeak of commerce; that of Spain is perhaps divided into more branches than the commerce of any other power of Europe.

At the æra of its greateſt ſplendour, it was impoſſible for it to be more active. Foreign merchants went into the center of the kingdom to exchange their merchandize againſt the productions of the ſoil and manufactures. But under the ſuc-

ſucceſſors of Charles V. theſe advantages vaniſhed, and Spain, during a long time, was confined to a paſſive commerce. The very few veſſels ſhe employs in this are at once the cauſe and proof of the change; although agriculture and induſtry be ſtill far from the proſperity to which they tend, had Spain only herſelf to furniſh with the merchandize ſhe wants, that which ſhe ſends into neighbouring kingdoms might perhaps balance what ſhe receives from them.

In the firſt place ſhe poſſeſſes all the neceſſaries of life in abundance. We have ſpoken of her wools; and when we treat of Valencia we ſhall ſee what reſources ſhe derives from her ſilk. Her brandies, rich wines, fruits, barilla, &c. form, for the eaſtern and ſouthern coaſts, a conſiderable branch of exportation. She makes all the common wines neceſſary to the conſumption of the kingdom. Agriculture if more encouraged would furniſh corn ſufficient for home

home conſumption, and leave a ſurplus for exportation.

Notwithſtanding the preſent backward ſtate of the country, ſome of the provinces, as Andaluſia and Old Caſtile, produce more corn than they can conſume; but the difficulty of inland carriage renders this fertility almoſt uſeleſs to the reſt of the kingdom, which is ſometimes at the mercy of foreigners, whilſt certain diſtricts enjoy abundance. Beſides, with reſpect to the regulations concerning grain, there is nothing ſtable, nothing encouraging for the huſbandman.

Beſides being obliged by the periodical journeyings of the ſheep, and the privileges of the *meſta*, extended to the proprietors of permanent flocks, to leave his fields open in all ſeaſons, and that from the day after harveſt to that on which he ſows them again, they are leſs his property than that of the public; nor can he depend upon a certain market for

for the ſurplus of their productions. Until the preſent reign, the exportation of grain had been prohibited almoſt without interruption, and the price of corn invariably fixed. The inconvenience of theſe ſhackles was at length perceived. M. de Campomanes, at that time fiſcal of the council of Caſtile, had long condemned the meaſure, but was almoſt the only perſon in power who gave himſelf any concern about it. At length, aided by the monarch, whom he had perſuaded to adopt his opinion, he took off the prohibition.

In 1765, it was eſtabliſhed by a royal mandate, that the interior commerce of grain ſhould be abſolutely free; that it ſhould be permitted to ſtore it in magazines, but that theſe ſhould be public; and that to ſupply preſſing neceſſities, corn ſhould be taken thence at the current price; that a power ſhould be granted to take grain from the magazines, when after three ſucceſſive markets, it ſhould have continued at a certain price; that corn from abroad might be

be introduced and ſtored in magazines within the country as far as ſix leagues from the ſea; but not further, unleſs that in three ſucceſſive markets of the neighbouring diſtricts it had not exceeded the price at which it ought to be ſold to enable the purchaſer to make exportations. The repreſentations from ſome provinces, and the meaſures of the council of Caſtile, occaſioned ſeveral alterations in this regulation. The exportation of grain was prohibited in 1769; but the regulation of 1765 was wholly re-eſtabliſhed by the mandate of the month of February 1783.

Theſe variations muſt increaſe the timidity and indolence of cultivators. To encourage them to derive all poſſible advantages from their lands, a more permanent law would be neceſſary, and one eſpecially which ſhould be better obſerved. For that which permits exportation is inceſſantly eluded by the caprice or avarice of the alcaldes and governors of the frontiers; and when nothing is oppoſed to its application (which

(which is a rare caſe, corn being almoſt conſtantly above the price fixed for that purpoſe) there are ſtill many formalities to go through, before the exportation can take place. This is therefore rare, and but to a trifling degree in the manner authorized by law. The ſlow, painful, and expenſive manner of carriage in Spain, is an inſurmountable obſtacle to the ſmuggling of that quantity of corn from the kingdom which is ſuppoſed to leave it illegally.

The ſmall quantity of legal exportations, can therefore be attributed to nothing but the continual mediocrity of the harveſts; it is certain that Galicia and Aſturia frequently receive corn from abroad, although the people there conſume a great deal of Turkey wheat; that Biſcay takes ſome from the province of Alava, from Navarre, and Arragon, and ſometimes from foreign nations by the way of St. Sebaſtian; that all the eaſtern coaſt of Spain is in continual want of ſupply, and that the kingdom of Valencia receives it from abroad, when La Mancha,

Mancha, in which corn almoſt conſtantly abounds, cannot furniſh it with a ſufficient quantity; and, laſtly, that Andaluſia, notwithſtanding its fertility, receives grain from other countries by means of its ports of Cadiz and Malaga. The exportation of grain could not be advantageouſly made, except by the frontiers of Portugal. This kingdom ſeldom reaps enough for its own conſumption, and the neighbouring Spaniſh provinces might produce it in abundance.

There is no conſiderable ſuperfluity of corn in any province of Spain, except in Old Caſtile, and this is ſent from St. Ander, and ſome neighbouring ports in Galicia, Aſturia, Andaluſia, and even to France; this happened in 1782 and 1783, when the ſouthern provinces of that kingdom were threatened with a dearth. This exportation is not made without great oppoſition from the rooted prejudices of Old Caſtile, which however ought not to weigh againſt experience; ſince the regulation of 1765 was

was juſtified by an increaſe of almoſt a third in the produce.

About the ſame time, a meaſure was adopted for the encouragement of agriculture, by inſtituting the *poſitos*. Theſe are magazines of corn, eſtabliſhed in upwards of five thouſand cities, towns, and villages in the kingdom, to inſure ſubſiſtence to the people againſt all accidents, and to prevent alarms, which in ſuch caſes are often equivalent to real evils. When it is intended to eſtabliſh one of theſe poſitos in any place, the municipal corps *(ayuntamiento)* obliges every inhabitant who has a field, either in fee or at a quit-rent, to contribute thereto a certain number of *fanegues* (a meaſure of wheat weighing, in ſome places, ninety pounds) the price of which is about four livres tournois (3d. 4d.) The year following, the inhabitant takes back what he has furniſhed, and ſubſtitutes for it another quantity, ſomething more conſiderable; and thus in the following years until the whole of the different quantities depo-

depoſited, which is called *creces*, has ſufficiently filled the magazine.

But this period is retarded at the will of avarice, and there are few *poſitos* in Spain, the management of which does not enrich the adminiſtrators at the expence of the poorer claſſes of the people. However, this branch is at preſent in the hands of a vigilant miniſter *, who endeavours to remedy all abuſes, and re-eſtabliſh the *poſitos* according to their original deſtination, that they may tend to the encouragement of cultivators, and is determined, if poſſible, to apply the exceedings to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who may be in want of grain for ſowing their lands. Theſe public magazines, which in practice are burthenſome to the poor, and but a feeble reſource to the rich, muſt not be confounded with the magazines of corn,

* The count of Florida-Blanca, who is properly ſeconded by a magiſtrate of equal abilities and integrity, Don Juan de Acedo Rico.

eſtabliſhed in ſeveral places, by the charity of individuals, to furniſh poor huſbandmen with the means of ſowing their lands. Beſides theſe, there are at Valencia and Malaga other beneficent eſtabliſhments, whoſe object likewiſe is the encouragement of agriculture. Theſe are named *erarios*, and conſiſt of funds deſtined to make advances in money to labourers, for a year only. Theſe funds were taken from the produce of the *ſpolios y vacantes*.

The permiſſion to export grain, the eſtabliſhment of the *poſitos*, and like remedies, will be but feeble palliatives of the evil which ſtill occaſions agriculture to languiſh in Spain, until internal communication ſhall be facilitated by making the roads paſſable in all ſeaſons, and eſpecially by the conſtruction of canals and the aid of navigable rivers, two objects to which we have ſeen that government has already turned its attention.

At

At preſent the interior commerce of Spain chiefly conſiſts in wine and oil, which are carried in leathern bottles by mules or aſſes from one province to another; in grain, which in like manner, by the aid of beaſts of burden, is the ſuperfluity of one diſtrict transferred to another, to prevent the ſcarcity to which that other may be expoſed; and in wool ſent from the ſheep-folds and waſhing-places of Caſtile to Bilboa, St. Ander, and ſome other ports of the northern coaſt. Materials neceſſary to the manufactures and merchandize, which from the ports or frontiers paſs into the interior parts of the kingdom, are tranſported thither by the ſame ſlow and conſequently expenſive conveyance.

It has been calculated* that the difference between the prices of water and land carriage, even upon the beſt roads of France, is in the proportion of one

* See the excellent work of M. de Fer de la Nouere, *Sur l'Economie dans les travaux publics.*

to a hundred and fifty. We may judge by this calculation what Spain will gain, when ſhe comes to have the full uſe of the canals already begun in the kingdom, or of which the plans are adopted. In the mean time let the Spaniards continue to level their uneven roads, which in mountainous countries are often impaſſible in a bad ſeaſon, and they will be able more generally to ſubſtitute carriages to beaſts of burthen, and make ſome progreſs in facilitating conveyance.

Spain is not much farther advanced in the coaſting trade. Excepting the veſſels of Catalonia and thoſe of Biſcay, the carrying trade along the coaſt is almoſt wholly in the hands of the French, Dutch, and Engliſh, three nations which have the advantage of being more active and who underſtand to navigate their veſſels at a leſs expence, and with fewer hands than the Spaniards. What has hitherto obliged Spain to employ a greater number of ſailors, is the ſtate of perpetual war

ſhe

ſhe is in againſt the Moors of Barbary, which has beſides the inconvenience of diminiſhing the confidence her flag might inſpire. The preſent miniſter is in a fair way to remove this chief obſtacle to the proſperity of Spaniſh navigation in the Mediterranean.

The peace he has lately concluded with the regencies of Africa, is undoubtedly an eſſential part of his ſyſtem, which at once embraces agriculture, induſtry, and navigation. He perceived that theſe three objects were indiſſolubly united, and rejecting the excluſive principles which favoured one at the expence of the others, has made them aid each other and mutually concur to remedy the national inaction. In vain would he have endeavoured to encourage the cultivation of commodities, and the produce of firſt materials, of which the manufactures and workſhops are in expectation, had he not provided the means of facilitating their circulation by roads and canals, and of pro-

moting the exportation of the productions of the ſoil and manufactures, by rendering the navigation leſs expenſive and more certain. The ſucceſs of this plan, equally extenſive and well digeſted, muſt ſoon produce effects to the advantage of the foreign commerce of Spain.

In this point of view particularly, is it that Spain acts but a paſſive part. I ſhall ſoon convince my readers of this by taking a view of the coaſts. In the firſt place thoſe of Catalonia are an exception. But few of the reproaches alleged againſt the Spaniards are applicable to the Catalonians. When we croſs their well cultivated province, and ſee it full of manufactures of various kinds, we find it difficult to believe it belongs to Spain. The port of Barcelona exports its ſilks, middling cloths, and cotonnades, its indians, wines, brandies, and other productions; and if we wiſh to judge of the part the Catalonians take in this commerce, it muſt be

be obſerved that in 1782, of ſix hundred and twenty-eight veſſels which entered Barcelona, three hundred and ſeventeen belonged to Spain. It is true that ſilks from Lyons, ſtockings from Nîmes, ſeveral kinds of ſtuffs and cottons, notwithſtanding the prohibition, and particularly dried cod, an article for which Spain is yet tributary to the Engliſh in the ſum of three millions of piaſtres, paſs into Catalonia by the ſame port.

It is a remarkable ſingularity in the hiſtory of commerce, that a proteſtant nation ſhould furniſh a catholic kingdom with an article which that nation only can prepare according to the taſte of the conſumers, by fetching from their own coaſts * the ſalt neceſſary to cure the fiſh taken upon the banks of Newfoundland, an iſland diſcovered by the Spa-

* The ſalt with which the Engliſh ſalt their cod is brought from Setubal and Alicant: whither their ſhips, ſometimes come in ballaſt to load with ſalt thence to proceed to Newfoundland.

niards, and where they long exerciſed the right of fiſhery; and as if this ſpecies of ſervitude were irrevocably decreed by fate, all the attempts hitherto made to ſubſtitute fiſh taken on the coaſts of Biſcay and Aſturia, reſembling Engliſh cod, have been ineffectual, and have proved that laws, policy, and even intereſt, diſappear before the caprices of taſte.

The other ports of Catalonia are much in the ſame ſituation as that of Barcelona. Tarragona, and the neighbouring ports receive, in addition, ſome articles of neceſſity, and export dry fruits. Tortoſa exports or imports wheat, according as the harveſts of Arragon and Catalonia are good or bad; but the principal article of exportation from this port is pot-aſh.

A conſiderable commerce is alſo carried on in the ports upon the coaſt of Valencia, and which is chiefly in favour of France. The French ſend to Valencia linens,

linens, woollens, hardware, ſpiceries, and grain, to almoſt as great an amount as the wines, wool, dried fruits, pot-aſh, and barilla, which they take from thence. They go to Gandia in ſearch of the wool uſed by the manufacturers of Languedoc and Elbeuf, and carry with them French cloths, ſilks, linens, hardware, and cocoa. The Engliſh alſo carry thither their cloths; and the Dutch export thence the brandies of the country, to tranſport them to the coaſts of Normandy and Bretagne.

The commerce of Alicant is leſs diſadvantageous to Spaniſh navigators. Of nine hundred and ſixty-one veſſels, which arrived in this port in 1782, ſix hundred were Spaniſh, the greateſt part Catalonian. French linens, thoſe of Switzerland and Sileſia, French camblets and ſome woollens, are brought thither, and the return is in dried fruit, wool, barilla, &c.

To Carthagena, the Engliſh, Dutch, and Neapolitans carry merchandize of all

all kinds, and return loaded with ſilk, wool, pot-aſh and barilla.

Almeria is a ſmall port, the principal commerce of which is in the hands of the French, whoſe ſhips carry thither the productions of their manufactures, and return loaded with lead, pot-aſh, &c.

Wine and fruits are exported from Velez, Malaga, and Marbella.

Malaga has a very conſiderable commerce, the advantage of which is entirely in favour of Spain, but almoſt without any to its navigation; of eight hundred and forty two veſſels which arrived at this port in 1782, from almoſt every commercial nation, ſcarcely a hundred were Spaniſh, even reckoning the ſhips of war which anchored there. The Engliſh, who are in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the trade, carry thither woollens and great quantities of ſmall ware; the Dutch carry ſpice, cutlery ware, laces, ribbons, thread, &c. Theſe nations, thoſe of the north, and

and Italy, export to the amount of two millions and a half of piaſtres in wines, fruits, ſumach, pickled anchovies, oil, &c. and all they carry thither amounts only to about a million and a half. The balance would be ſtill more advantageous for Malaga, if the ſilk and wool of the kingdom of Granada were exported from this port; but theſe are employed in the country where they are produced.

Cadiz, the commerce of which I ſhall not here mention, becauſe I ſhall ſpeak of it at ſome length in another place, is a ſtriking proof of the inactivity of Spaniſh navigation. A thouſand and thirty-three veſſels arrived there in 1782, of which but fifty belonged to Spain. The neighbouring little ports of St. Lucar and St. Mary, in like manner, afford but little employment for the veſſels of the nation.

If we paſs from the coaſts of Andaluſia to the northern coaſt of Spain, we ſhall find the French, Engliſh and Dutch

Dutch in poſſeſſion of the trade from Vigo, Ferrol, and particularly from Corugna, and which moſtly conſiſts in importation; for the pilchards, cattle, and common linens, the only articles Gallicia has to export, ſerve to pay the balance due to the neighbouring provinces.

Corugna owes to the preſent reign a feeble commerce of exportation which it has to America by the packet-boats, that ſail every month for the Havannah, and every two months for Buenos-Ayres. Theſe were eighteen in number, when the late war began. Several fell into the hands of the enemy, but were afterwards replaced. The conveyance of packets and paſſengers is the principal object of their inſtitution; but it occaſionally furniſhes the means of exportation to the productions of Galicia. They employ about eight thouſand ſailors, and enliven the circumjacent countries.

Upon the coaſt of Aſturias there are eighteen ports, ſcarcely known to have a name,

a name, the trade of which is almoſt excluſively in the hands of the Dutch. A little before the late war the Engliſh and French, who had been driven from them by preceding wars, appeared there again with linens, woollens, and ſmall ware. Some veſſels from the country however ſail to France and England in ſearch of what is neceſſary to ſupply the wants of the province; and ſince the eſtabliſhment of a free commerce with America, the trade of Gijon, the moſt important of theſe ports, begins to acquire ſome activity.

The country adjacent to the Aſturias is called the *Montanas de Burgos*; and is one of the diſtricts of Spain the moſt unprovided with reſources. Government conſidered this when it permitted this diſtrict to receive the neceſſaries of life duty free. The treaſury was not long before it repented of the conceſſion, under favour of which all ſorts of foreign merchandize were introduced by the

the ports of this coaſt, and adminiſtration has recently taken meaſures to prevent future abuſes.

Saint Ander is the principal of theſe ports; it receives, by about a hundred French veſſels, every thing they can furniſh to conſumption of every kind. Theſe ſhips return loaded with wool for the manufactures of France, and corn for the other Spaniſh provinces, and ſometimes for thoſe of their own kingdom. The Engliſh export from Saint Ander the ſame articles, in exchange for cod, oil, fiſh, &c. and employ, in this commerce, about forty veſſels. Some Dutch and Hamburgh veſſels trade thither alſo. The eſtabliſhment of a free commerce has begun to animate the national navigation. The neighbouring ports, ſuch as thoſe of Suances, Comillas, and St. Vincent de la Barquera carry on a little coaſting trade with the barks of the country. Santona, which has an excellent port, ſends ſome veſſels loaded with cheſt-

cheſtnuts to Holland and a few cargoes of lemons to France.

The trade of this coaſt, which, as we have ſeen, is almoſt wholly in the hands of foreigners, approaches to an equality with that of Biſcay, the moſt active commerce in Spain after that of Catalonia.

The principal ports of Biſcay, Bilboa, the Paſſage, and St. Sebaſtian, are much frequented by the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, who carry thither the productions of their induſtry, and return with iron, wool, and anchors. But the Biſcayners are not idle ſpectators; they furniſh in a great meaſure foreign merchandize to the Mediterranean provinces, and their ſhips have a conſtant communication with the other ports of the peninſula, and thoſe of France, England, and Holland. St. Sebaſtian has a long time been the center of commerce for the province of Caracas; and although the company of this name has no longer the

form

form of an excluſive company, the Biſcayners will, for a conſiderable time, have the advantage in this trade over their competitors.

A few words upon the trade of the Mediterranean iſlands, which make a part of the crown of Arragon, will complete this ſlight ſketch of the commerce of Spain.

The iſland of Majorca, the principal one of the three, produces wine and fruits which are ſent to Spain, ſome brandies, taken by veſſels from the north, a little ſilk which goes to Catalonia, and coarſe wools ſent to Sardinia and Italy. It receives corn from the French and Italian ports, cattle from thoſe of Languedoc and Catalonia, and rice and ſilks from the coaſts of the kingdom of Valencia. The French, Engliſh, and Dutch carry to it all the other articles of which it has need: but the French poſſeſs three-fourths of the commerce of the iſland. The people of Majorca, like the inhabitants

bitants of moſt iſlands, have an inclination and aptitude for navigation. Their ſhip-timber is made uſe of at Palma, which is their principal port; they fetch cocoa, ſugar, iron, and planks from Marſeilles; and their xebecks go to Cadiz, where they take in cargoes. Their flag, more expoſed than any other to the inſults of the rovers of Barbary, their fierce neighbours, may hereafter be diſplayed with greater ſecurity in the Mediterranean, and their port of Palma being one of thoſe which ſince 1778, has a right to trade with Spaniſh America, muſt ſtill increaſe their induſtry.

This for a long time will not be rivalled by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Minorca. This iſland, unfruitful and almoſt without induſtry, was furniſhed with every thing by foreign veſſels, and particularly by thoſe of France, before it was conquered by Spain. I know not whether the change will be advantageous to the inhabitants with reſpect to their

commerce or not, it has only appeared to me that they were in doubt what might be its effect.

Ivica, the third of the iſlands anciently called the Balearic, exports but little, and receives its ſupplies of neceſſaries from Majorca and the coaſts of Spain. Its principal riches conſiſt in ſalt, of which foreign ſhips, particularly Swediſh, come thither to take in their cargoes.

Theſe accounts are more than ſufficient to prove that the commerce the Spaniards have with foreigners is but paſſive. But the eſtabliſhment of patriotical ſocieties, the conſtruction of roads and canals, and particularly the extenſion of the free commerce with Spaniſh America, muſt produce a new order of things. I have ſufficiently ſpoken of the two firſt beneficial ſources; and the third only now remains to be conſidered.

After the conqueſt of Spaniſh America, the court of Madrid confided the adminiſtration of that country to a permanent council, under the name of the *Council of the Indies*, which ſtill ſubſiſts, with nearly the ſame laws and principles, that, according to circumſtances, were at firſt adopted. The form of adminiſtration which government gave, at the ſame time, to its vaſt poſſeſſions, is no part of my ſubject; this would be a work above my abilities, and would beſides lead me too far from my purpoſe: I ſhall ſay no more of it than what will be neceſſary to give a proper knowledge of modern Spain, with reſpect to her connexions with her colonies.

The council of the Indies is, in many reſpects, modelled upon the council of Caſtile: like the latter it is compoſed of ſeveral chambers, two of which are eſpecially charged with affairs of adminiſtration, and the third with the deciſion of law ſuits. It has alſo its *camara* compoſed of the oldeſt counſellors, one of

whoſe principal functions is to propoſe to the king, by means of his miniſter, ſuch perſons as it judges proper to fill the places of vice-roy, governor, and other magiſtrates, and to hold biſhoprics and benefices in Spaniſh America. It is by this council alſo that the laws and regulations by which that country is governed are framed, and there are very few meaſures which the miniſter of the Indies can take without having, although it be but for the ſake of form, the ſanction of the council. This having been the permanent depoſitary of the fundamental laws upon which the conſtitution of Spaniſh America was at firſt erected, it has been, and perhaps too obſtinately, an enemy to all meaſures by which it might undergo any change.

One of theſe laws confined the commerce of Spain, with her colonies, to a ſingle Port; at firſt that of Seville: but when the Guadalquivir, which in the time of Charles V. was navigable up to this port, became inacceſſible to large veſſels, the center

center of the Spaniſh American commerce was removed to Cadiz. The manner in which it was carried on is generally known.

At ſtated times a fleet ſailed to Mexico to furniſh a ſupply of ſuch articles as were neceſſary for that country, and bring back the productions of that part of America to Cadiz. At the ſame time galleons ſailed for Porto Bello. In this port was held a kind of fair, the rendezvous of all the merchants from the other Spaniſh colonies. This was continued until the war which begun in 1732, when regiſter ſhips were ſubſtituted to galleons. But the fleet for Mexico, and the regiſter ſhips, continued to ſail from Cadiz.

The coaſt of Caracas only received its ſupply of merchandize from another port. The care of furniſhing this had been confided by Philip V. to a company which took the name of that of Guipuſcoa, from the province in which it was

inſtituted, and the ports whence the veſſels ſailed. The company enjoyed all the advantages of an excluſive privilege, without having received it in form.

A bad adminiſtration, by inriching the agents, and exciting complaints from the ſettlers at Caracas has occaſioned it to decline. The check it received at the beginning of the laſt war * gave it the finiſhing ſtroke; the company then felt the burthen too heavy to be ſupported, and prayed the king for his aſſiſtance.

His catholic majeſty releaſed the company from the obligation it was under to keep Garda Coſtas, which were an expence of two hundred thouſand piaſtres per ann. though they did not do their duty, as the ſettlers of Caracas received much more

* I mean the taking of the convoy from Biſcay in the month of January 1780, by Admiral Rodney. The loſs ſuſtained by the company on this occaſion was eſtimated at fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres; and it was ſaid, that ſum was equal to the whole real property of the company.

mer-

merchandize from ſmugglers than from the company. The latter loſt nothing by the change; its ſhares had become treble the original purchaſe, thanks to the inſufficiency of the articles furniſhed, to the exorbitant price at which they were ſold, and to that the company laid upon its returns. The company preſerved the ſame means of carrying on the commerce of Caracas with great advantage over the new competitors, who were to be aſſociated with it. In the year 1785, it was employed in liquidating its capital. The court of Spain had already permitted ſome individuals to make voyages to the coaſt of Caracas, then greatly diſtreſſed by the depredations of the enemy's privateers, and the more prejudicial auſterity of the governor. But I have known intelligent people in Spain who doubted of the happy ſucceſs of theſe new regulations.

The experiment made in favour of the ſettlers of Caracas was a ſtep towards new attempts of the ſame kind. In 1755 Ferdinand VI. permitted a com-

pany of merchants at Barcelona to ſend out ſhips to St. Domingo, Porto Rico and Margaretta; but the privilege was clogged with ſo many reſtrictions that the company made no uſe of it.

In 1763, the dawn of a new day began to appear in Spaniſh America. Several underſtanding perſons had perceived and wiſhed to make government ſenſible of the inconvenience of confining to a ſingle port, and to periodical voyages, all the commerce of the extenſive colonies in that quarter of the world. An attachment to old forms for a long time rendered their remonſtrances ineffectual: two arguments were oppoſed to them, which were the more embarraſſing as they were the reſult of the experience of two diſtant periods. It was obſerved that under Charles V. a free commerce had been attempted to be eſtabliſhed, but that ſoon afterwards it was found neceſſary to reſtore the former reſtrictions. It was further added, that from 1748 to 1754, regiſter

ſhips

ſhips had ſailed from other ports of Spain than that of Cadiz; and that the numerous failures which followed in conſequence ſoon cauſed the meaſure to be abandoned. But thoſe who made theſe objections did not obſerve that more precautions on the part of government, and regulations better adopted to the time and the nature of the different expeditions, muſt have prevented the ruinous ſpeculations of the new adventurers; that Spaniſh America, better known by its wants than its reſources, at leaſt to government, could no longer embarraſs merchants with the ſame obſtacles, provided they ſubmitted their operations to its inſpection. The wants of the Spaniſh colonies daily increaſed; and obliging all the veſſels which went to relieve them to depart from one port, was on one hand expoſing the coloniſts to a monopoly, and on the other leaving too great an opening to the ſpeculations of ſmugglers.

A tarif

A tarif drawn up in 1720, ſeemed to have been calculated for the advantage of thoſe who purſued this illicit trade. It loaded with duties of export to America the productions of the mother country, ſuch as iron, wines, brandies, oil, &c. It eſtabliſhed the duty of *Palmeo*, which was received upon the bales, not according to the quality of the merchandize, but in proportion to their dimenſions; a duty which thus favoured high priced articles, that occupy but little ſpace, at the expence of thoſe which require conſiderable room, and rendered it impoſſible to take any account of the quantity or quality of foreign ſtuffs ſhipped for the colonies. The tariff moreover ſubjected the manufactures of Spain to the ſame duties as thoſe from foreign countries; in a word, it preſcribed a number of formalities perplexing to legal commerce; and ſmuggling added to the advantage of eluding them, that of defrauding government of duties of exportation and importation to the amount of ſixty per cent.

cent. The Engliſh had ſo much profited by this, that according to calculations which I have reaſon to believe exact, their contraband trade produced them after the peace of 1763 twenty millions of piaſtres per annum.

The court of Spain loſt no time in endeavouring to frame other regulations for a part of the colonies. By a decree of the 16th of October 1783, ſeveral European ports were permitted to trade immediately with the Carribbees, and the provinces of Campeachy, St. Martha and Rio de la Hacha. The decree diminiſhed the duties of the fatal tarif of 1720, and diſpenſed with many formalities. Its effect was not at firſt very ſenſible. The Spaniards, ever tardily circumſpect, were not eager to enter this new channel.

The iſland of Cuba became the principal object of ſpeculation. Yet in 1770 this iſland, which well cultivated, might ſupply all Europe with ſugar, did not furniſh enough for the conſumption of Spain.

Spain. Speculations have ſince become more enterprizing. Government has given new encouragement to the trade with the Havannah, eſpecially by facilitating the importation of negroes, by a conſiderable diminution of the duty paid on their being carried thither. The company excluſively permitted to furniſh them, had almoſt ruined itſelf in the undertaking; but theſe new meaſures ſoon gave it the means of repairing its loſſes. The iſland of Cuba, which had conſtantly languiſhed under the auſpices of the excluſive company of the Havannah, began from that moment ſenſibly to proſper. Before the year 1765, it ſcarcely received into its ports ſix ſhips in a year; in 1778, its commerce gave employment to more than two hundred. Its crops of ſugar were more than ſufficient to ſupply the demands of Spain; and although theſe ſugars were at that time eight per cent. dearer than thoſe of France, it was foreſeen that they would ſoon enter into competition with them in the European markets.

Like

Like ſucceſſes juſtified the meaſures taken in 1765, and invited the court of Spain ſtill further to enlarge its plan. The department of the Indies had juſt been beſtowed on one whoſe enterprizing character, knowledge and experience permitted him not to remain ſatisfied with ſuch timid experiments. By a decree of the 2d of February, 1778, the free commerce was extended to the province of Buenos Ayres, and the kingdoms of Chili and Peru; and by another decree, of the 16th of October following, to the vice-royalty of Santa Fé, and the province of Guatimala. It therefore was now permitted to all Spaniſh America, except Mexico.

The laſt decree regulated the new form to be given to the free trade; and admitted to a participation in it the ports of Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Alicant, Carthagena, Barcelona, St. Ander, Gijon, Carugna, Palma in the iſland of Majorca, and St. Croix in Teneriffe one of the Canary Iſlands.

As

As all ſhips which ſhould hereafter ſail from theſe ports were to paſs by the cuſtom-houſes, thoſe of Biſcay, one of the privileges of which conſiſts in not having any ſuch houſes, were by the ſilence of the new regulation excluded from this trade. Government has attempted to perſuade the Biſcayners to permit cuſtom-houſes in their ports, with the view of an immediate commerce with Spaniſh America; but this temptation, as we have obſerved in another place, has not induced them to abandon their privileges; and hitherto thoſe merchants of Biſcay who have ſent veſſels to the Indies, have been obliged to fit them out from the neareſt port to their coaſt; a troubleſome formality, which, however, has appeared to them leſs diſagreeable than the admiſſion of revenue officers. The regulation of 1778, extends the free commerce to twenty-four ports of Spaniſh America, and favours, by lowering the duties, ſuch of them as were in need of that advantage to be frequented.

This

This is not the only proof of beneficent policy contained in the regulation. One of the principal objects of its author, was to encourage the productions of the ſoil and manufactures of the mother country. In conſequence of which, ſeveral articles are there exempt from duties for ten years from the date of the decree; ſuch as woollens, cotton, and linens of the manufacture of Spain; hats, ſteel, glaſs, and a hundred other articles of which the enumeration would be too tedious.

With the ſame view the regulation actually excluded many articles of foreign merchandize, ſuch as cotton ſtuffs, half-beaver hats, ſilk ſtockings, and liquors of all kinds, as wine, oil, brandy, and others, known in Spain by the appellation of *caldos*.

And ſtill more to excite the Spaniards to export to the Indies the productions of their country, the regulation exempts from

from a third of the duty every veſſel wholly laden with national merchandize.

The regulation of 1778 tends not leſs to the proſperity of the colonies than to that of the mother country; it wholly exempts from duty, on being ſhipped from America, a great quantity of the productions of the country, as cotton, ſugar, cochineal, indigo, coffee, copper, jeſuits-bark, and all productions, as well of the Spaniſh Indies as of the Philippines, which have not yet been brought to Europe.

The precious metals of America make a ſeparate article. Gold, on entering Spain, paid a duty of five per cent. and ſilver one of ten per cent. The new regulation fixes theſe duties at two and five and a half per cent. and, had the miniſter had it in his power, the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of piaſtres from Spain, would in like manner have been reduced to the half. Certain articles of merchandize coming from

from the Indies are neceſſary to the Spaniards who conſume or manufacture them. The exportation of theſe to foreign kingdoms is abſolutely prohibited by the regulation: the principal ones are ſilver in ingots, gold in every form, ſpun cotton, and ſhip timber.

America produces many other articles little known in Europe, and of which Spain ought to favour the exportation. The regulation which exempts them from export duties on leaving the Indies, extends the exemption to their exportation from Spain. Such are certain woods, gums, plants and drugs with which America abounds. Theſe may ſupply luxurious enjoyments, and preſerve or reſtore the health of the inhabitants of the old Continent; and though placed by Nature at a diſtance from them, ought long ſince to have been rendered common in Europe by commerce.

All theſe meaſures would have been inſufficient, if the court of Madrid had

ſuffered the numerous duties eſtabliſhed by the tarif of 1720 to remain.

The new regulation aboliſhes them all, and ſubſtitutes in their ſtead a ſingle duty, which is a certain part of their value. It is accompanied by a tarif, in which the various articles of merchandize are eſtimated; iron by weight, cloths by meaſure, ſtuffs by the piece, and other articles by the dozen. Thoſe which cannot be thus valued, are taken at the current price of the manufactories whence they come, if they be Spaniſh; or according to the price they bear in the port in which they were ſhipped, if foreign. According to theſe different valuations, which, as it appears, leave but little room for arbitrary deciſions, the tarif ſubjects all national merchandize to a duty of three per cent. and foreign goods to one of ſeven per cent. when either are ſhipped for any one of the great ports of America; that is to ſay, the Havannah, Carthagena, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Callao, Arica, Guyaquil,

aquil, Valparayſo and Conception; and the duty is but one and a half, or four per cent. when national or foreign merchandize is ſhipped for one of the leſſer Indian ports.

Notwithſtanding the wiſdom of the intentions with which the regulation was drawn up, it excited many complaints. It left, ſaid the complainants, much to be deſired with reſpect to the encouragement meant to be given to national productions; ſome of which were highly taxed, ſuch as iron, oil, wines, brandies, &c. Why did it ſtill leave the duties to which woollens, linens, cottons, ſilks, &c. were ſubject in paſſing from one province to another? On the other hand, why were articles of foreign manufacture excluded from the commerce of America, to which the national manufactures could not long be ſufficient, particularly the article of ſilk ſtockings? Was not this inviting the manufacturers of Spain, convinced of their inability, to engage

with foreigners for a ſupply? And muſt not this neceſſary ſuccour, eaſy to be obtained in ſpite of prohibitions, cauſe their manufactures to languiſh by favouring idleneſs? The heavieſt complaint was againſt the troubleſome formalities to which the regulation ſubjected the expeditions from the ports of Spain to America. Merchants were expoſed to the caprices of favour and the inconvenience of delay, which, added to a duty of ſeven per cent. to be eluded as well in exports as imports, and to abſolute prohibitions of certain articles of merchandize, could not but offer ſeducing advantages to contraband ſpeculations. Could the name of a *free* trade, ſaid the complainants, be given to commerce thus ſhackled, for each operation of which an expreſs permiſſion was neceſſary from the miniſter; which intrigue, unwillingneſs, the ſlowneſs of the forms of office and intermediate agents might delay too long, and conſequently render uſeleſs? Inſtead of the advantages of liberty, prohibitions, threats and puniſhments,

niſhments, it was added, had been annexed to each article of the regulation.

The merchants of Madrid were the chief complainants. Theſe only had hitherto had connexions with Spaniſh America; they were the only perſons who had capitals ſufficient for ſuch diſtant expeditions, of which the returns were expoſed to every kind of hazard. The aſſociates given them in thirteen other ports of Spain would, ſaid they, engage in ruinous ſpeculations, which without benefiting the colonies would be a real loſs to the commerce of Cadiz. The voice of ſelf-intereſt was eaſily diſtinguiſhed in theſe complaints. The experience of a few years has already been ſufficient to determine whether or not they were well founded.

Thoſe of which Mexico was the object, ſeemed to carry with them two more ſpecious reaſons. It was aſked, why that vice-royalty only was excepted by the new law? If the law were to con-

tribute to the proſperity of the reſt of Spaniſh America, could it be thought dangerous for Mexico only? If its ſucceſs were uncertain, how had miniſters dared to make a hazardous experiment upon ſuch a vaſt extent of country? The partiſans of adminiſtration replied, that not to expoſe at once the fate of all the colonies to the uncertainty of irregular voyages and adventures, it had been thought proper to leave a part ſubject to the ancient regulation of periodical ſuccours; that the miniſter of the Indies choſe the moſt populous colony, and at the ſame time that with which he was beſt acquainted; that Spain had not yet either veſſels, capital, or merchants ſufficient to rely upon the diſtant and uncertain inclination of individuals, to furniſh this vaſt colony with ſuccours. The reply to theſe arguments was, Do not confound the effect with the cauſe. If you want ſhips, merchants and capital, is it not becauſe America, perhaps, does not yet offer all the openings ſhe has to give to commerce?

merce? Open the ports of Mexico, and this will ſoon produce unbounded ſpeculations; for there are many ſettlers in that colony, who have wants and deſires, with abundant means of ſatisfying them; whereas the fleets you ſend thither only from time to time, and after long intervals, leave an immenſe opening to contraband trade, deſtroy the induſtry of the Mexicans, and expoſe them to the extortions of the avaricious and opulent, who engroſs the merchandize ſent to Mexico for the conſumption of four or five years.

The miniſter of the Indies had undoubtedly ſtill ſtronger reaſons for not changing the manner of ſupplying Mexico, and notwithſtanding all the complainants may alledge, that province, with which he is thoroughly acquainted, and which is one of the chief objects of his care, owes to him its proſperity in more than one reſpect, and the advantage of rendering that proſperity uſeful to the other colonies and the mother

country. The corn now produced there is ſufficient for its conſumption, and will ſoon contribute to furniſh a part towards that of all Spaniſh America. The cultivation of tobacco, confined however to two diſtricts in the neighbourhood of Mexico, by offering a new gratification to the Mexicans, has increaſed the revenue of Spain.

The miners, in particular, of Mexico, have much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the preſent miniſter of the Indies, who by improving the works of the mine of Almaden, has furniſhed them with a great quantity of quickſilver. Before the time of M. de Galvez, this mine, ſituated near the Sierra Morena, produced but about ſeven or eight thouſand quintals. The miniſter has almoſt doubled the produce, and made, with the miners of Mexico, an arrangement, by virtue of which he will furniſh them, at forty-one great piaſtres per quintal, the quickſilver for which they formerly paid eighty piaſtres. This has given great activity to the

the working of the mines. Thoſe of Mexico produced, in 1782, twenty-ſeven millions of great piaſtres, and would have produced thirty millions had not they wanted quickſilver; not that the rich ſource of Almaden is exhauſted, but a defect in the conſtruction of the galleries of that mine had retarded the works. Until this impediment ſhall be removed, the Spaniſh government has made an agreement, whereby it is to be furniſhed with ſix thouſand quintals of ſilver the year for ſix years, from the mines of Idria in Auſtrian Iſtria, for which Spain is to pay about fifty-two great piaſtres the quintal. The miners of Mexico have reconciled themſelves to this additional expence, to be enabled to continue the working of their mines with all poſſible vigour; the of reaſon this activity on their part is eaſily conceived.

The mines of which they are in poſſeſſion, are a ſpecies of raw materials, which it is their intereſt to employ. The greater the produce the more conſiderable

ſiderable are the profits which reſult to the undertakers; but does this exiſt in an equal proportion for the Spaniards of the Old Continent?

This queſtion was of magnitude ſufficient to be conſidered. Our modern œconomiſts, ſupported by the experience of the laſt century, would not heſitate in reſolving it; they would ſay, and with them many good citizens beyond the Pyrenees, that the exceſſive increaſe of coin is diametrically oppoſite to the endeavours of Spain to render her manufactures flouriſhing; that the price of every thing, as well in Spain as elſewhere, muſt be in proportion to the quantity of ſpecie; that if the progreſs of Spaniſh induſtry keeps in the kingdom the greateſt part of the coin, hitherto deſtined to pay the balance of trade, the reſult will ſoon be that the high price of workmanſhip will again check induſtry in the midſt of its career, and throw it back into that eternal

nal circle from which it will never be extricated.

According to this principle the œconomiſts, whoſe arguments I am now repeating, would ſay to the Spaniards; Inſtead therefore of extracting from your mines every thing they can poſſibly produce, rather ſhut up a part of them; confine the quantity of the precious metals ſent to the Old Continent, to what is neceſſary to replace that which is inſenſibly loſt, which luxury employs in ornaments, or avarice buries either in Aſia or Europe. Follow the example of the Portugueſe, who limit the working of their diamond mines, that their precious products may not become common; or that of the Dutch, who burn what ſpices remain after having provided for the demand of the conſumers, which they carefully eſtimate. The ſilver of Mexico is your diamonds and ſpices; if you treble their quantity, your miners, whoſe hands might be more uſefully employed, will be obliged to labour more,

but

but you will not be more rich. You will pay three times the price for foreign productions, which will always continue to be more or leſs neceſſary to you.

I know not whether theſe arguments appear ſpecious, but I can imagine the anſwer which would be made to them in Spain. We ſee nothing alarming, it would be ſaid, in the increaſe of coin, which you repreſent as a thing ſo monſtrous. In the firſt place it would produce a certain profit to the revenue, becauſe it muſt augment, in the ſame proportion, the duties paid upon metals on their entrance into Spain. Now, whilſt other ſtates of Europe endeavour to increaſe their revenues, and find in them the means of ſupporting the great enterprizes of peace and war, we ſee not by what fatality Spain alone ſhould find the means of decline in that which contributes to the proſperity of neighbouring kingdoms. We have the ſame obſervations to make upon her manufactures. When they ſhall be on a foot-

ing

ing with our mines, our coin will be increaſed by that which now pays for foreign induſtry, and by the ſurplus furniſhed us by Mexico and Peru. We therefore ſee nothing to be feared in this ſuggeſtion, and would aſk our opponents what nations are moſt flouriſhing. Are they not England and France, indiſputably thoſe which have the greateſt quantity of coin? What ſignifies the ſource whence it is derived? The combined produce of our mines and our induſtry, will nevertheleſs be very uſeful to Spain in the hands of rich individuals, who, in their turn, will embelliſh our cities and country, furniſh capitals for public inſtitutions, and from whom the ſtate, in critical moments, may receive loans, and find leſs burthenſome ſuccours than heretofore. We however agree, that a time may arrive when our proſperity, carried to its greateſt height, might bring with it our decline. This may happen when our manufactures ſhall be ſufficiently active and improved to render foreign induſtry abſolutely uſeleſs to us. If at

the

the ſame time the produce of our mines conſtantly tended to augment the quantity of our current coin, without its finding a means of decreaſe, certainly this ſituation, which from the viciſſitudes of human affairs ought to be looked upon as a chimera, would have an inevitable inconvenience. Such an exceſſive plenitude of the body politic would render an evacuation neceſſary, which would give it the moſt violent ſhock. The extreme high price of workmanſhip in Spain would invite thither, in ſpite of all prohibitions, every kind of foreign manufacture. The coin would be drained off by the channels which theſe would open to receive it; the national manufactures would languiſh for want of ſale; workmen would diſappear, as uſeleſs in future from want of employment, and Spain would again fall into depopulation, ſluggiſhneſs and poverty. But we are far from being in ſuch circumſtances as could realize theſe melancholy ideas; and until a more imminent danger condemns

demns to inactivity our manufactures and mines, we may continue to derive from this two-fold ſource our future proſperity.

Whether this reaſoning may be well or ill founded, it ſerves as a baſis to the plan which Spain has for ſeveral years followed. Government is perſuaded, that the greateſt poſſible advantages muſt reſult from great activity in the manufactures, an abundant production from the mines, and a continual correſpondence between the mother country and the colonies.

Some of the colonies have merited more particular cares than that of Mexico; theſe are Louiſiana, Trinidad, and the Philippines.

From the moment Louiſiana was ceded by the French to Spain, the court of Madrid, which to ſubjugate this colony had employed ſuch vigorous meaſures as could not fail to render its yoke odious,

odious, endeavoured to ſoften its fate by granting to the inhabitants privileges proper to inſure their proſperity, and the advantage of the mother country. In 1768, it was enacted, that merchandize going from Spain to Louiſiana, and the productions received from that colony, ſhould be exempt from all duties of exportation; and that the produce of the colony ſhould pay a duty of but four per cent. upon entering Spain. But as thoſe in the greateſt abundance, ſuch as tobacco, indigo, cotton, and particularly furs, could not find a great ſale in Spain, it was agreed that French veſſels might load with them at New Orleans, but that they ſhould arrive there in ballaſt. This reſtriction was ſo frequently eluded, that the Spaniſh government ſaw the neceſſity of taking it off; and was moreover convinced, that the furs, ſkins, &c. of Louiſiana could not be exchanged but for goods manufactured in France.

The

The regulation of 1778, added to the privileges of Louiſiana, a total exemption of duties for furs, &c. during ten years. Afterwards in 1782, Penſicola and Weſt Florida having been added to the Spaniſh poſſeſſions within the Gulph of Mexico, it was eſtabliſhed, that for ten years, reckoning from the concluſion of the peace, ſhips ſhould be permitted to ſail from French ports to Louiſiana and Penſicola, and returns made of all the productions of the two colonies, and that the articles, as well exported as imported, ſhould pay a duty of no more than ſix per cent. that in caſe of neceſſity the inhabitants ſhould be permitted to furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries from the French American iſlands; and that the negroes, which they might procure from friendly colonies, ſhould enter their ports duty free. The regulation expreſsly mentioned, that foreign merchandize received at Louiſiana ſhould be there entirely conſumed. But this reſtriction has certainly been eluded; for conſidering the

 nume-

numerous expeditions made to New Orleans in conſequence of the regulation, many ſpeculators would have ruined themſelves had not their cargoes had other markets than that of Louiſiana.

This very regulation of 1782 ſoon made further enlargements appear neceſſary; the people of Louiſiana were to form no commercial connexions but with France, to which they were diſpoſed by an attachment independent of treaties, and which is frequently ſtronger in proportion to the oppoſition it meets with. Had this intention been realized, the French would have deprived the contraband traders of the produce of their fraudulent commerce by way of Florida, and the north of the Miſſiſippi, and would have had it in their power to have procured at an eaſy rate the furs, beaver ſkins, and other productions of Louiſiana. Nevertheleſs as the inhabitants of this colony alſo conſumed ſome foreign merchandize, ſuch as Sileſia linens, Engliſh copper, &c. to leave the

French

French the whole profit of this new arrangement, it would have been neceſſary to obtain from the French government a free importation for theſe articles, which might afterwards have been ſhipped from the ports of that kingdom immediately to Louiſiana. The Spaniſh miniſter had confided this negociation to M. Maxent, father-in-law to general Galvez, ſo advantageouſly known in the late war, and who previouſly had prepared the proſperity of Louiſiana, by the mildneſs and wiſdom of his adminiſtration. M. Maxent was not able to ſucceed in the negociation with which he was charged, and in 1785 it was preſumed that the Spaniſh government had determined to extend to other foreign ports, ſuch as Oſtend, Amſterdam, Genoa, &c. a privilege which at firſt had been reſerved for thoſe of France.

Trinidad had for a long time been one of the moſt unprofitable of the Spaniſh colonies. Its ſituation at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, near the coaſt

of Terra Firma, the ſalubrity of its climate, the fertility of its ſoil, and the excellence of ſome of its harbours, ought on the contrary to make it a valuable poſſeſſion. This had not eſcaped the miniſter of the Indies, who that he might reſtore life to this dead member of the Spaniſh monarchy, added in 1776 the iſland of Trinidad to the department of the company of Caracas. This was but a trifle compared to what M. Galvez ſtill intended to do for the iſland. In 1778 it was included in the new regulation. M. d'Avalos, intendant of the province of Caracas, a citizen full of zeal and information, of a firm and vigorous character, who has been harſhly cenſured by the coloniſts confided to his care, but properly appreciated by the Spaniſh miniſtry, who have lately named him to the government of Andaluſia, was conſulted in 1779, upon the proper means of reſtoring it to new life. M. d'Avalos, from that moment, took upon himſelf to people and fertiliſe Trinidad. A Frenchman, not leſs active than himſelf,

ſelf came very à-propos to ſecond his intentions: this was M. de Saint Laurent, who, fixed by his poſſeſſions in the iſland of Granada, had paſſed under the dominion of England by the peace of 1763, and who, after the taking of the iſland, which he foreſaw would not be reſtored to France, went to ſettle at Trinidad. He was perfectly acquainted with all the reſources of the iſland, had connexions with all the Caribbee iſlands, and poſſeſſed, in a ſuperior degree, the talent of inſpiring confidence and benevolence by his ſincerity and eaſy manners.

M. d'Avalos charged him to procure ſettlers for the iſland of Trinidad. M. de Saint Laurent, who knew that ſeveral perſons in France and Ireland had already turned their views to that iſland, propoſed, to engage them to determine upon it, a regulation which inſured to them lands in proportion to their capital, and the number of blacks and whites that each coloniſt ſhould take to the colony; which exempted for

ten years the exportation of their productions, and the entry of negroes, from all duties; and granted them other privileges leſs conſiderable, the enumeration of which would carry me too far beyond the bounds of my plan.

The regulation, approved of by M. d'Avalos, was publiſhed, by his order, at the beginning of 1780, without waiting for the conſent of the court, and it produced a ſpeedy effect. In the month of June, 1782, there were a hundred and ſeventy families of new coloniſts, who had brought with them a thouſand and eighty-five ſlaves, and had nearly two hundred plantations for ſugar, coffee, and cocoa.

This beginning was not, however, properly ſupported; the greateſt part of the emigrants, upon whom M. d'Avalos reckoned, waited until the court of Spain ſhould make a formal avowal of the promiſed privileges; and M. de St. Laurent came in 1783 to Europe to ſolicit.

ſolicit it. He had ſeveral conferences with the Spaniſh miniſters, and preſented to them memorials which had not the ſucceſs he expected. To juſtify the promiſes he had made to the emigrants, he demanded privileges which were found incompatible with the laws of the Indies; and the council, the depoſitary of theſe laws, oppoſed to him the ancient inflexibility of its principles. He believed he had a perſonal right to the acknowledgements of Spain, and demanded them, perhaps, with that auſtere frankneſs which knows not how to aſk for juſtice in the accents commonly employed in the ſolicitations of favour. In ſhort, the fate of Trinidad, reſpecting which he poſſeſſed ſo much information, and to the proſperity of which he had in ſo many reſpects contributed, was decided without his concurrence *.

In

* This eſtimable man found himſelf, as the reward of his talents and labours, abandoned to all the anxieties cauſed by a derangement of property, when Marſhal de Caſtries, who had found an op-

In the month of November 1783, a royal mandate granted to the new coloniſts of Trinidad, a part only of the privileges he had judged neceſſary; it permitted them a free trade with the French of Europe and the Caribbees, but ſtipulated that the commerce ſhould be carried on in Spaniſh veſſels, and left but the ſpace of three years to acquire foreign ones. It exempted from duties, during ten years, all merchandize from Spain, and for five years that from France. It favoured the importation of cattle, with which the neighbouring continent abounds.

With reſpect to the importation of negroes, which the colony wanted, it was permitted with reſtrictions. Inſtead of requiring that all the coloniſts who wiſhed to ſettle at Trinidad, ſhould take negroes with them, it ſtipulated

portunity of becoming acquainted with his merit, recompenſed him for the injuſtice and caprice of fortune, by nominating him commiſſary at Tobago.

that

that this iſland ſhould ſerve as a depoſitory for all thoſe which foreign nations ſhould bring thither. Spain could not do without theſe to furniſh her colonies. At the expiration of the famous *aſſiento*, which the Engliſh had obtained at the peace of Utrecht, this charge was transferred to a company which had made Porto Rico the depoſitory of all the negroes it bought at ſecond-hand, whether from the Dutch at the Cape, or the Engliſh at Jamaica. The contract of the company expiring in 1780, Spain determined to make her own purchaſes of ſlaves. With this view government had acquired from Portugal, by the treaty of peace in 1778, two ſmall iſlands near the coaſt of Africa. But, beſides their being inſufficient for the purpoſe intended, Spain ſtill wants what is eſpecially neceſſary for the negro trade; ſhe has neither veſſels properly built for the purpoſe, nor the merchandize moſt ſuitable to purchaſe negroes; ſhe moreover wants ſeamen acquainted with the particular diſorders to which theſe

wretched

wretched ſlaves are ſubject; and ſurgeons, who underſtands how they ſhould be treated; and until ſhe thus becomes upon an equality with the nations uſed to this commerce, ſhe will be obliged to have recourſe to their aſſiſtance. Thus, during the late war, at the moment when the privilege of the company to which the furniſhing of negroes was confided, was about to expire, Spain permitted all her coloniſts to procure them from the Caribbee iſlands belonging to foreign powers. But this means proved inſufficient. Contraband commerce, with which the Spaniſh colonies are beſet on all ſides, to the detriment of the revenue but to the advantage of the coloniſts, ſupplied the greateſt part. The Spaniſh miniſter, until he ſhall be able to take permanent meaſures to procure negroes, has given to foreign merchants ſome particular permiſſions to land them in the Spaniſh American ports. We have already ſeen what he eſtabliſhed in favour of Trinidad; and at the ſame time an

Iriſh-

Iriſhman obtained the privilege of tranſporting four thouſand ſlaves to that iſland, at a hundred and fifty piaſtres a head. Still more lately the miniſter has contracted with an Engliſh commercial houſe, which has engaged to furniſh negroes to the Havannah at a hundred and ninety-five piaſtres a head for thoſe of the beſt kind.

Theſe facts, and ſeveral others I have adduced, inconteſtibly prove that Spain, far from being inattentive to her wants and thoſe of the colonies, is vigilant in providing for them; and that the irreſoluteneſs with which ſuperficial perſons may reproach the Spaniſh government, is the inevitable reſult of circumſtances, and bears the marks of that laudable prudence which collects from every quarter the information neceſſary previous to fixing upon an invariable plan.

But the meaſure adopted by government, which moſt proves to what a degree

gree its attention is engaged in diffuſing new life through every part of the monarchy, is the eſtabliſhment of the company of the Philippine iſlands.

Theſe iſlands, placed at the extremity of the world, relative to the mother country, and which, including the Ladrone iſlands, dependant upon them, form a more extenſive poſſeſſion than France, Spain and Italy, were not long ſince entirely uſeleſs to the Spaniſh monarchy, to which they might be made more profitable than any of its colonies. Not only all the neceſſaries of life are there found in abundance*, but great quan-

* Beaſts of burthen, domeſtic animals, game and fiſh abound in theſe iſlands. They alſo produce great quantities of corn and rice; the vegetable kingdom in particular is there richly ſtored. This country, hitherto almoſt a maiden one with reſpect to botanical reſearches, produced to M. Sonnerat ſix thouſand plants unknown in Europe; a precious treaſure with which that learned naturaliſt enriched our Continent. On his return to Madrid there happened to him an odd circumſtance, from which, how-

quantities of ſhip-timber, woods proper for dying, ſeveral iron mines, and rivers navigable a long way up the country. Cotton, tobacco, indigo, and ſugar thrive in that ſoil; ſome gold is alſo found among the ſand of certain rivers. The number of ſubjects who acknowledge the Spaniſh dominion is upwards of a million, without including the wild natives

however, I muſt beg the reader not to infer any thing againſt the taſte of the Spaniards for the ſciences. The produce of his reſearches was contained in a great number of caſes, which upon their being landed were to be ſearched by the commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, that the proper duties might be paid upon their entry. The officer already ſignificantly ſmiled at the profits which the bulky cargo would undoubtedly produce to the revenue. Before he conſulted his tarif, he had the caſes opened, and was not a little ſurprized to find in them nothing but dried inſects, animals ſtuffed with ſtraw, and plants curiouſly preſerved in beds of moſs or cotton. The officer, in other reſpects an eſtimable man, but undoubtedly no great lover of natural hiſtory, and ſomewhat mortified to find his tarif defective (for theſe kinds of merchandize were not taxed in it) exclaimed with an air of pity: *Good God! with what ſtrange things theſe Frenchmen amuſe themſelves!*

who

who live in the woods, and of which the enumeration would be almoſt impoſſible. But inſtead of profiting by ſo many advantages, Spain, ſinking, if I may ſo ſpeak, under the weight of her foreign poſſeſſions, reſembles a great body with cloaths badly proportioned to its gigantic ſtature, and which will not cover one part of it without leaving another naked.

Let not therefore the inability nor the indolence of Spain be accuſed becauſe the Philippines, its moſt diſtant colony, are abandoned to themſelves and reduced to be only one of the principal depoſitories of the Indies. Convinced of the impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing a regular and immediate commerce between them and the mother country, the kings who conquered them confined their efforts to beſtowing on them a communication, by the port of Acapulco, with the weſtern coaſt of Mexico. The famous *Nao* (Galleon) which every year makes the voyage from Manilla to Aca-

Acapulco, acroſs the South-Sea, is generally known. It was, for the moſt part, by this route that Spain communicated with the Philippines; a communication without profit for her European ſubjects, and of which the principal advantage was reaped by the Chineſe, the Armenians and other nations who frequent the eaſtern ocean. Even the revenue derived no advantage from it; and the moderate produce of the duties was not ſufficient to defray the expences incurred in their adminiſtration. The inhabitants of the Philippines, without cultivation or induſtry, had no other reſource than the commiſſions to which their ſituation was favourable. Like Spain in Europe, the iſland of Luconia or Manilla, which is the principal of the Philippines, was only a channel through which the piaſtres of Mexico paſſed to the Indian nations; ſo that, notwithſtanding the enormous ſums of money which commerce has carried to theſe iſlands ſince the time

time of their conqueſt, there remains in them but a very moderate quantity.

Their defence was as much neglected as their interior proſperity. It may be recollected with what eaſe they were taken in the war before the laſt, by the ſame general Draper who commanded at Minorca under general Murray when that iſland was ſurrendered to the duke de Crillon. Spain has profited by the leſſon. The preſent monarch has ordered the port of Cavite or Cavina, at the bottom of which is ſituated Manilla, the capital of the iſland of Luconia, and the reſidence of the governor, to be fortified; and when the late war broke out, this important place was in a ſituation to brave the attacks of the very enemies to whom ſixteen years before it had been ſo eaſy a prey.

This, however, was not ſufficient. The miniſter of the Indies endeavoured to excite the induſtry of the inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding their ſupineneſs, from

from which the appearance of gain only can awaken them, have the greateſt aptitude to manufactures, agriculture, navigation, and the building of ſhips. Cotton manufactures were eſtabliſhed at Manilla, and their productions have already proved, that if the inhabitants had until then been uſeleſs coloniſts, it was not from ignorance. At length, the miniſter of the Indies, ſeconded by M. Cabarrus, whoſe repeated ſucceſſes had gained him univerſal approbation, took advantage of the general fermentation which inclined the nation to uſeful objects, to adopt a direct commerce from Spain to the Philippines.

Circumſtances were propitious. After various fluctuations, credit and confidence ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed; the Spaniards began to familiariſe themſelves to hazardous ſpeculations; perſons of property, become leſs timid, at length gave an employment to their capitals, which miſtruſt and an attachment to ancient forms had before prevented.

The company of Caraccas was diſſolved, and the proprietors, about to receive their capitals, naturally wiſhed for a ſpeedy opportunity of placing them out again.

The time was favourable to the eſtabliſhment of a new company, which undertaken under the moſt happy auſpices, might inſpire confidence and a deſire of gain. The plan was diſcuſſed and approved of, in July 1784, in a junto compoſed of different members of adminiſtration, and at which the miniſter of the Indies preſided. It was propoſed to form a capital of eight millions of great piaſtres, divided into thirty-two thouſand ſhares, each of two hundred and fifty piaſtres, and to employ this capital in trading from Spain to the Philippines. The advantages which Spain would have over the other European ſtates, in carrying immediately from Mexico to theſe iſlands the piaſtres which other nations could not convey thither but by a prodigious circuit, were enume-

enumerated. It was aſſerted that Spain, thus receiving from their ſource the merchandizes of India ſo much deſired in Europe, would receive them upon better terms, might furniſh them to her colonies and European ſubjects, and open to them a market with other nations.

The plan approved of by the junto, received the ſanction of the king, and means were immediately ſought to carry it into execution. The monarch and royal family gave the ſame example as they had done when the bank was eſtabliſhed, and ſubſcribed to the capital of the new company. To this were added, as we have formerly obſerved, twenty-one millions of reals, ariſing from exceedings of the value of the ſhares of the bank; and that the ardour which ſeemed to be awakened might not be abated by delay, directors and other perſons were immediately named for the new eſtabliſhment, and the patent of its inſtitution was prepared and publiſhed.

It ſtated, that the veſſels deſtined to this commerce ſhould ſail from Cadiz, double Cape Horn, put into the ports upon the coaſt of Peru, and thence take piaſtres ſufficient to make their purchaſes, croſs the South Sea to the Philippines, and bring their returns immediately to Cadiz, taking their courſe by the Cape of Good Hope.

This precipitate zeal, which ſeemed to be a contraſt to the ſuppoſed ſlowneſs of the Spaniards, was ſeconded by a circumſtance which happened very opportunely. The company of *Gremios*, of which we have ſeveral times ſpoken, had already attempted to ſend ſome ſhips to the Philippines; and, notwithſtanding they had not ſucceeded, were preparing to make another experiment, when the plan of the new company was under conſideration.

The Gremios were offered a part in the project, and had declined accepting the offer. They haſtened the departure of the

the veſſel which was preparing for Manilla; but the elements, more favourable than their intentions to the miniſter, ſoon obliged it to return to Cadiz, after having received conſiderable damage. To have repaired and refitted it would have been expenſive, and muſt have required time. Government offered to purchaſe the veſſel and cargo, and the propoſal was accepted. Thus was the firſt expedition undertaken by the Philippine company, in the moment even of its eſtabliſhment, which may ſerve to give proper ideas upon the ſubject.

It may eaſily be imagined that opinions muſt be different according to the various points of view under which the company has been conſidered. I have heard the ſubject diſcuſſed, by perſons of the beſt information, on both ſides of the queſtion, and cannot but acknowledge that, as a ſtranger, and wholly unintereſted, I thought I diſcovered prejudice and exaggeration as well in the company's partiſans as in its detractors;

on one ſide enthuſiaſm, which is always to be ſuſpected; on the other the language of defamation, againſt which it is equally neceſſary to be guarded. I will briefly relate the ſtrongeſt objections I have heard againſt the Philippine company. They were made in a converſation, I had upon the ſubject, with a well-informed Spaniſh merchant, towards the end of the year 1785. I beg the reader to remember, that it is the merchant who ſpeaks and not the author.

Could Spain, ſaid he, be aſſured of ſix or ſeven years peace to lay the foundation of this inſtitution, it might, perhaps, acquire a kind of temporary ſolidity. But what anſwer will government make to the following queſtions?

How can Spain, which has, nearer home, colonies deſtitute of population and induſtry, think of making her moſt diſtant poſſeſſions flouriſh? Is not the idea of aſtoniſhing the world by a vaſt

and

and brilliant* project, the only motive for this preference?

But what can be expected from the new company, after the little ſucceſs which thoſe of Seville, the Havanah, and particularly that of Caracas have had, upon the ruins of which it is founded *. A like project was conceived in the reign of Philip V. The regulation, according to which the new commerce was to be proſecuted, was already prepared. The war which ſoon followed prevented its execution, and, at the return of peace, the project was no more thought of. Can we expect the Spaniards of the preſent age to be more fortunate, more active, and more perſevering.

* We have obſerved, that the proprietors of ſhares in the company of Caracas, had been invited to place that part of their capitals, in future tranſferable, in the ſtock of the new company. The one was, if I may ſo ſay, founded upon the other; and of the three directors named to the new company, two had held the ſame ſtation in that of Caracas.

Beſides, to whom was the direction of this new company confided? To the ſame directors in whoſe hands the company of Caracas had juſt been diſſolved. They might have much information relative to the coaſts of Newfoundland; but in that kind of ſtudy, certainly, had not acquired much knowledge of the navigation of the Indian ocean.

Other nations have choſen the moſt enlightened perſons to direct their ſpeculations in diſtant parts of the world, thoſe who had a thorough local knowledge, and were well acquainted with the reſources and openings of their commerce, and had at the ſame time long eſtabliſhed and continued communications with the particular country in queſtion; nevertheleſs moſt of their enterprizes have had but precarious ſucceſs; and Spain confides the direction of hers to three projectors, who have never paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and have no other knowledge of the Eaſt-Indies than what they have acquired

quired from imperfect or ſuſpicious narratives! Her navigators are ſlow and little experienced, and yet ſhe flatters herſelf that ſhe ſhall rival the Engliſh, French, and Dutch!

She has over them, ſay they, the advantage of an undiſputed poſſeſſion. Theſe iſlands are ſituated commodiouſly for a highly profitable commerce, and Spain is able to ſend thither her ſilver in piaſtres, a commodity which excluſively belongs to her, and which is the principal article of this trade, on much lower terms than other nations.

This, undoubtedly, is the moſt favourable ſide of the undertaking: but to how many objections is it ſtill liable?

The Philippines, in fact, inconteſtibly belong to Spain. She is not indebted for them to the forbearance of the Indians, to violence, or local circumſtances which may hereafter change. Yet, how precarious is this poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding

ſtanding all endeavours to render its principal port inacceſſible, and to fortify and garriſon Manilla the capital?

Is it forgotten that the iſland of Luconia is of conſiderable extent? In how many places may troops be landed, eſpecially if aided by the kings of neighbouring iſlands, ſome of whom, as thoſe of Joloo and Mindanao, are not to be deſpiſed, and by the unſubdued inhabitants of the iſland of Luconia, who leave to the Spaniards the peaceable poſſeſſion of the coaſts only, and upon the leaſt ſignal would fall upon them from the tops of the mountains? I know not, added the merchant, what may be the diſpoſitions of the powers to whom the undertaking may give umbrage; but will not the Spaniſh government deceive itſelf if it attributes their ſilence to inability or aſſent? What would become of the company if their vigilance, excited by intereſt, jealouſy, and paſt experience, ſhould create it embarraſſments?

How

How eaſy is it to injure at a great diſtance, to conceal the hand which ſtrikes, and to diſavow that whence the blow immediately comes, when the miſchief is done and irreparable? Without being initiated in the myſteries of politics, I know one of theſe powers has pretended that the Spaniſh flag was excluded by treaty from the Indian ocean. I am alſo informed, that Spain has refuted theſe pretenſions with arguments drawn from natural reaſon and political right, and that no reply was made to them. But is this ſilence to be taken for an avowal? Can Spain be certain, that after having peaceably formed her eſtabliſhment, the fruits of it will not be ſnatched from her in the moment when ſhe ſhall imagine ſhe is about to reap them? More trifling cauſes have occaſioned war, which may well be expected to ariſe from this fatal ſource, if the Coloſſus, ſhe is at preſent placeing on its baſe, cannot be otherwiſe overturned. Will it be ſaid that ſhe can prevent or brave the ſword of her enemies

enemies by maintaining ſea and land forces in the Philippines? But whence will ſhe take them, without weakening herſelf in Europe, where certainly ſhe poſſeſſes nothing ſuperfluous in her fleets and armies? I foreſee the anſwer; it will be alleged, ſhe may embody natives of the iſland. The iſlands of Luconia abound in ſhip-timber, iron, hemp, and tar; Spain will eſtabliſh dockyards there; that is, before there be in the iſland either induſtry, cultivation, or even a ſufficient population, ſhe will make it the center of a military eſtabliſhment? Can it be ſuppoſed that other nations will ſuffer the Spaniards peaceably to avail themſelves of all the reſources which the Philippines offer for this purpoſe, if even more ability in adminiſtration, more activity in the ſervants of government, and more ſtability in the cabinet of Madrid ſhould render the execution of ſuch a project more eaſy?

I will

I will go ſtill farther, continued the merchant, who began to grow warm; I will ſuppoſe all theſe difficulties and dangers ſurmounted, and all the objections I have hitherto made removed; I will ſuppoſe the Spaniards to have eſtabliſhed their Philippine company without obſtacle, and upon a national and firm baſis. Yet where will it make its purchaſes? where find a market for its returns?

In the firſt place, the courſe of commerce is already eſtabliſhed in the Aſiatic ſeas. The firſt attempt of an unexperienced nation will not be ſufficient to turn it aſide; this can be effected only by time and perſeverance. But will the ſubſcribers, diſguſted with the ill ſucceſs of their firſt attempts, be inclined to repeat them? If Spaniards only are to be concerned in this undertaking, as government, by excluding foreigners, has declared, they will be deſirous to enjoy, and inclined to miſtruſt. Once or twice deceived in their ſpeculations, they will abandon them. The property, of which they

they are the holders, injured by diſcouragement, will ſoon be reduced to little value; the company will decline, and where will it find the means of re-imburſing the ſubſcribers, whoſe capitals will in a great meaſure be ſunk in vaſt and expenſive eſtabliſhments? In vain will it open the port of Manilla to all the nations of India: if they go there they will carry with them, like the Moors and Americans, nothing but the refuſe of merchandize deſtined for the people of Europe. But will traders come from Bengal and Coromandel to offer to a nation, yet unknown to them, their productions; which already find a certain market, eſtabliſhed by length of time, with the Engliſh, Dutch, French and Portugueſe? Beſides, would the Engliſh, who reign deſpotically over the manufactures and cultivation of India, ſuffer this diverſion, which would create them a dangerous competition in the markets of Europe?

I therefore ſee no place but China to which the new company can carry on a direct

direct commerce by means of the vicinity of the Philippines, which are but two hundred leagues diſtant from it. But beſides that jealouſy would there occaſion the ſame obſtacles; what commodities could it take from that empire? Silks, it will be anſwered, tea and china-ware.

Silks? where will the company ſell them again? In the mother country? A taſte for this kind of luxury has not yet been introduced there, nor can it ever be except at the expence of the manufactures of Valencia, Talavera, Granada, Cordova, &c. which Spain eſteems it of ſuch conſequence to encourage. Will they be diſpoſed of in France, England, Holland, or in the North? Theſe countries receive them immediately from Aſia, and meaſures will certainly be taken to keep out thoſe which ſhall be brought by the Spaniards. Will they ſend them to Italy? All the powers of this part of Europe have either ſilk manufactories or ſumptuary laws. Spaniſh America therefore only remains to receive theſe ſilks; and,

will

will that be ſufficient to produce to the ſubſcribers the great profits they expect? Of this I cannot but doubt when I conſider the immenſe circuit the merchandize muſt make before it arrives there. Charged with the expences of the voyage from Manilla to Cadiz, with thoſe of that from Cadiz to Spaniſh America, to which muſt be added the damage inevitable in ſo long a voyage, will they not have loſt moſt of the advantage of their primitive cheapneſs? And what will the mother country gain by furniſhing the colonies in this manner? She will become tributary to Aſia inſtead of Europe, and open a new channel by which her coin will be drawn off, whilſt on the other hand, all her efforts tend to render the balance of her commerce leſs diſadvantageous.

With reſpect to tea, the uſe of it is almoſt unknown in Spain, and the nations which conſume that article will certainly double their vigilance to prevent the tea of the Spaniſh Philippine company

company from being introduced among them.

China-ware can never become an important article of commerce; it is a bulky and brittle merchandize, which luxury only can deſire, is of little eſteem in Spain, and would find no market in any other country.

Laſtly, though we ſhould ſuppoſe in the management of the new company, that ability which can be the reſult of experience only, and that probity by which the Spaniards are characterized in Europe, and which the ſtrong temptation of the hope of impunity renders ſo rare in their colonies; in a word, though we ſuppoſe all poſſible ſucceſs, it may always be objected that the company cannot proſper, except at the expence of the ſilk and cotton manufactures of the mother country. To feel the force of this objection, it is only neceſſary to be informed, that this feeble commerce, eſtabliſhed between Manilla and Acapulco, has al-

let theſe be entirely directed to the advantage of the people of the iſland. You ſay, their port is inacceſſible in time of war. In that caſe, the chief taſk of the mother country is performed. It would be ſufficient that now, in time of peace, that port ſhould be opened to all the Eaſtern nations, and that the inhabitants ſhould be permitted to make voyages from one part of India to another. This would ſuffice for their proſperity without endangering their ſafety. By this means the reproaches you would wiſh Spain to free herſelf from will be without foundation, and the mother country will ſignalize that virtue ſo worthy of a great power, the generoſity of rendering her ſubjects happy, without expecting any other return than that reſulting from a voluntary benefaction.

In fact, what reaſon can a government which is ſo ſucceſsfully employed in making roads and canals to facilitate communication through every part of the country; which inceſſantly labours to encou-

rage

rage agriculture and manufactures, to increaſe population, to emancipate the inhabitants from their ancient prejudices, to render the navy reſpectable, and to extend commerce to ſo many other colonies which without the Philippines would ſufficiently contribute to the riches and ſplendor of Spain, be reproached with indolence and ignorance? a government which, not ſatisfied with the eſtabliſhment of a free trade with Spaniſh America in general, has had the wiſdom and courage to take particular meaſures in favour of thoſe parts of that America which, as Trinidad and Louiſiana, had a more immediate claim to its attention? Who that has a reſpect for truth will henceforth dare to give ſo odious and unjuſt a deſcription of this nation? The only anſwer I can return to ſuch declamations is, either the character of the Spaniards has been improperly eſtimated, or it is greatly changed. *

* The gloomy predictions of the Spaniſh merchant have been contradicted in part by experience. Of three veſſels ſent out by the new company, one indeed

This led me to a diſcuſſion of the manners and character of the modern Spaniards, in which we agreed much better than on the ſubject of the Philippine company. It confirmed me in the ideas I had conceived of them after a reſidence of ſeveral years in the country,

ſuffered, from a want of ſkill in thoſe who had the care of it, conſiderable damages, which were repaired at the iſle of France; but the two others arrived ſafe at Cadiz towards the end of 1787. Their cargoes were received with the greateſt eagerneſs: their ſales exceeded the price at which they were eſtimated on their arrival from fifteen to fifty per Cent. It is however feared, that this ſplendid beginning cannot be ſupported. The high price was attributed to novelty, and the ſcarcity of the commodities brought by the veſſels. It is preſumed, that if a taſte for them were eſtabliſhed, ſmuggling would furniſh them at a cheaper rate; for the company, for want of having placed experienced ſupra cargoes in the veſſels, made in this firſt expedition very dear purchaſes, and of a middling quality; it is even thought, that in future, the company muſt renounce the article of tea, which among the Spaniards has a rival difficult to ſupplant. Beſides, the conſumption of chocolate cannot be diminiſhed but to the detriment of ſeveral colonies, the property of which is ſtill more intereſting to Spain than that of the new company.

The

The recapitulation I am about to offer to my readers, will inform them what is my own opinion.

I ſhall begin by a few words concerning ſuch eſtimates of national character. They are portraits, which under a brilliant and ingenious pencil, have every merit except that of reſemblance. It is not according to them that an idea can be formed of any modern people. For individuals to reſemble each other, they muſt be under the influence of the ſame climate, have the ſame occupations, and profeſs the ſame religion. They muſt alſo live under a well-eſtabliſhed form of government, and moſt of them give to their ideas, ſentiments and exterior habitude of body, a conſtant and uniform turn. It is the concurrence only of all theſe particulars which can authorize us to apply to all the portrait of an individual. A difference among them, in any one of theſe reſpects, is ſufficient to give infinite variety to their moral and phyſical features. For this

reaſon it would be eaſy to deſcribe the ancient Scythians, or other paſtoral nations, the ſavages of Canada and barbarians in general, who have but one ſimple and uniform mode of worſhip, few laws, and little communication with other nations. The Greeks and Romans alſo in the happieſt times of their republics, almoſt entirely devoted to the love of their country, liberty and fame, inhabiting a confined ſpace, where the influence of climate was in every place nearly ſimilar, and all taking a part more or leſs active in government, might be generally deſcribed by the ſame lineaments. For which reaſon, among modern nations, the Engliſh and Dutch would be found nearer this uniformity, the firſt from that univerſal inquietude which fixes their attention upon government, whoſe operations are ſubmitted to their inſpection, and from that national pride which keeps their minds in continual activity, and which is not, as in other countries, confined to certain claſſes of ſociety; and the latter becauſe, notwithſtanding

ſtanding the various conſtitutions of their ſeven provinces, they have all a point of union which attaches them to their country and liberty, by their portion of an authority infinitely ſubdivided; and, becauſe the nature of their ſoil, and their ſituation with reſpect to other countries,*

* I find in the republick of Holland, a confirmation of this obſervation. Six of the provinces reſemble each other in the nature of the ſoil, which obliges them to commerce, and reduces them to almoſt a ſingle kind of cultivation, and in their conſtitution, which is differently compoſed of ariſtocracy and democracy; while the province of Guelderland which has not one conſiderable harbour, is almoſt without canals, of which the ſoil is more unequal and leſs fertile than that of the reſt of the republick, and which has been long ſince faſhioned to the yoke of a maſter, contains inhabitants which ſenſibly differ from the ſubjects of the other united provinces. It is therefore upon Guelderland that the Deſpot, who has juſt reduced them to ſubjection, has made the firſt eſſay of his power; and, whilſt the other provinces glowed with the noble enthuſiaſm of liberty, its ſtates, chiefly compoſed of gentlemen devoted by intereſt to tyranny, ſighed for his ſucceſs. They were the firſt to offer him aſſiſtance, and gave the warmeſt reception to thoſe who came to aſſure them of his triumph. After this, let the portrait of a real Dutchman be applied to an inhabitant of Guelderland!

preſcribe

preſcribes them all nearly the ſame taſte and employments. But who can flatter himſelf with the idea of giving a good portrait of the German, Italian, and French nations? What a difference between the climates, productions, employments, laws and language of one province and thoſe of another! Who would apply to an inhabitant of Weſtphalia the deſcription of a Saxon or an Auſtrian; that of a Neapolitan to a Venetian; or that of a Fleming to an inhabitant of Languedoc?

The Spaniards are in the ſame ſituation as theſe three nations. There are in the inhabitants of their chief provinces ſuch ſtriking differences of climate, manners, language, habits, character, and even exterior form, that the portait of a Galician would more reſemble a native of Auvergne than a Catalonian, and that of an Andaluſian a Gaſcon more than a Caſtilian. If the Spaniards have ever had characteriſtic marks, applicable to all the inhabitants

of

of their Peninſula, it was when the Arabians, by eſtabliſhing themſelves in the nation, had ſtamped it with a particular impreſſion, and notwithſtanding the different cauſes which ſeparated them from it, had communicated to it a part of their manners, ideas, taſte for the arts and ſciences, and of every thing of which the traces are ſtill found in the provinces where they moſtly reſided; it was when the high idea they had of their nation, and which was juſtified by circumſtances, appeared in their perſons, and gave them all a reſemblance to the deſcription ill given of them; by repreſenting them all grave, auſtere,, generous, and breathing nothing but war and adventures. It was, in fine, when in their general aſſemblies, which they called *Cortes*, all took a part, more or leſs active, in government, directing or watching its operations, and when they felt more ſtrongly than at preſent, that patriotiſm which acts ſo powerfully upon the opinions, affections and manners of thoſe whom

whom it animates. But theſe three cauſes of uniformity in national character have almoſt entirely diſappeared, and left the Spaniards more immediately to the influence of the climate, and the laws and productions of their different provinces; ſo that to deſcribe them in their preſent ſtate, they muſt be divided into Caſtilians, Catalonians, Arragonians, Navarrians, Andaluſians, and Aſturians, and to each of theſe people muſt be aſſigned a particular portrait; a difficult and diſagreeable taſk, which could never be compleated without almoſt continually placing the exception by the ſide of the rule; in which it would be ſcarcely poſſible to be exact without deſcending to minuteneſs, to be juſt without being ſevere, or a eulogiſt without appearing to flatter.

However, this revolution has not been ſo compleat as not to leave many features, by which the whole Spaniſh nation may ſtill be known. A part of its manners have ſurvived the event by which

which they were changed. The influence of the climate has been modified, but not deſtroyed; in many reſpects the provinces have the ſame form of government. The court of a monarch almoſt abſolute, is ſtill the center of all views and affections. All the modern Spaniards profeſs the ſame religion. In literature they have ſtill the ſame taſte, and copy the ſame models. In many reſpects they have preſerved ſome reſemblance to their anceſtors, and this is what I ſhall endeavour to point out.

When Spain diſcovered and conquered the New World, not contented to reign over a great part of Europe, ſhe agitated and convulſed the other either by intrigue or military enterprizes. At this period the Spaniards were intoxicated with that national pride which appeared in the exterior of their perſons, in their geſtures, language and writings. As there was then ſome reaſon for this, it gave them an air of grandeur which was at leaſt pardoned by

by thoſe whom it inſpired not with reſpect. But by a concurrence of unfortunate circumſtances this ſplendour has been eclipſed, and the aſſuming manners it excuſed have ſurvived it.

The Spaniard of the ſixteenth century has diſappeared, but his maſk remains. Hence that exterior fierceneſs and gravity by which he is at preſent diſtinguiſhed, and which have frequently recalled to my recollection two lines of one of our poets on the ſubject of original ſin, notwithſtanding the conſequences of which the ſublime ſtation man was intended to fill is ſtill eaſy to be known.

C'eſt du haut de ſon trône un roi précipité,
Qui garde ſur ſon front un trait de majeſté *.

The modern Spaniard ſtill preſerves in his air and geſture the marks of his ancient greatneſs. Whether he ſpeaks

* He is a king precipitated from his throne, who ſtill preſerves in his air ſome traces of majeſty.

or

or writes, his expreſſions have an exaggerated turn which approaches bombaſt. The Spaniards will pardon me for treating them in this point with a little ſeverity. To enable them to ſupport it, let them recollect that each nation has its defects as well as good qualities; and that theſe are ſo joined, that defects are ſometimes the conſequence or exceſs of good qualities, in the ſame manner as good qualities are an excuſe for, and frequently the conſequences of defects.

I therefore ſhall not ſcruple to repeat that the Spaniard has an exalted idea of his nation and of himſelf, and expreſſes it without the leaſt diſguiſe of art. His vanity is not nouriſhed by thoſe pleaſant exaggerations which provoke laughter rather than anger, and which characteriſe the inhabitants of one of the provinces of France. When he boaſts it is gravely, with all the pomp of his language. In a word, the Spaniard, as a man of wit once ſaid to me, *is a Gaſcon who has put on the buſkin.*

I am

I am nevertheleſs much diſpoſed to believe that the genius of the language may alſo be one reaſon for this pompous ſtyle. The Spaniards have not only adopted many words and expreſſions from the Arabic, but their language is impregnated, as it were, with the oriental ſpirit which the Arabians naturalized in Spain. This is found in all the productions of Spaniſh imagination, in works of piety, in comedies and novels. It is, perhaps, one of the cauſes of the ſlow progreſs of ſound philoſophy, becauſe carrying every thing beyond the truth, accumulating images round the moſt ſimple ideas, and favouring whatever borders upon the wonderful, the ſanctuary of truth is ſurrounded with illuſion and rendered inacceſſible. The Spaniard is ſo prolific, ſo diſordered in his conceptions, that to ſay a man conceives brilliant chimeras, or that he receives them as realities, cuſtom has introduced the proverb, *Il fait des châteaux en Eſpagne*, he builds caſtles in Spain, an expreſſion, for the etymology of

of which, I think, it would be ſuperfluous to ſeek elſewhere.

But the haughtineſs of the Spaniard, which would be noble were it more moderated, and his gravity which always awes, and ſometimes repels, are compenſated by very eſtimable qualities; or are rather the ſource of thoſe qualities. Individual pride, like that of a nation, elevates the mind and guards it againſt meanneſs; and ſuch is the effect of Spaniſh haughtineſs. In Spain there are vices and crimes as in other countries; but in general they bear this national characteriſtic. It is obſervable in the moſt obſcure claſſes, in dungeons, and even under rags and miſery. It compenſates, to a certain degree, the genius of a language naturally diffuſe, in which the ear ſeems to be gratified by an accumulation of ſonorous words, and wherein multiplied expreſſions are frequently miſtaken for an abundance of ideas. Haughtineſs is commonly preciſe; it diſdains detail and loves enig-

matical expreſſions becauſe they are concife, and leave room to think, and ſometimes to conjecture. Hence is it that the ſame Spaniards who, when their imagination is in the leaſt warmed, diſplay all the luxury of their language, are laconic when their mind is calm. Of this I might give a hundred examples, but I ſhall mention one only. I had occaſion to ſpeak to a Spaniard of the loweſt claſs, and found him gravely careſſing a little child. I aſked him if he were the father? A Frenchman of the ſame rank would have modeſtly anſwered, Yes, Sir; or, at leaſt, I believe ſo; and would have ſaid much more on the ſubject than I ſhould have wiſhed to hear. The Caſtilian, without diſturbing himſelf, or even receiving my queſtion with a ſmile, anſwered me coldly: "he was born in my houſe," after which he immediately turned the diſcourſe to ſome other ſubject.

This gravity, almoſt become proverbial, is however far from what it is gene-

generally ſuppoſed to be; in fact it excludes in the Spaniards what we call affability. They do not anticipate, but wait for you. But this auſtere covering frequently conceals a good and benevolent mind, which will become manifeſt on the leaſt examination. Strangers to the vain hypocriſy of French politeneſs, the Spaniards are ſparing in profeſſions. Their ſmile of benevolence is not the mark of duplicity, and their heart commonly opens with their features. How often have I been repulſed by the exterior of a Spaniard, and remained a long time without being able to approach him, or to conquer my repugnance, which was all that was neceſſary, to find in him a complaiſance not affected but real; an obliging manner, not that which promiſes but that which grants! The Spaniards are, perhaps, in want of that urbanity which is beſtowed by what we call a refined education, but which too frequently ſerves as a covering to falſehood and contempt. They ſupply this by that unaffected frankneſs and good-

nature, which announces and inſpires confidence.

The great among them have no dignity, if we mean that which is circumſpect in its affability, for fear of provoking familiarity, and which cares but little whether or not it be loved, provided it be but reſpected. Without forgetting who they are, they mark not in a mortifying manner the diſtinction of claſſes, and do not diſdain to form connections among thoſe beneath their own. They have no longer among them a Duke of Alba, a Don Louis de Haro, and a Penaranda, whoſe characters diſplayed in the face of Europe, have undoubtedly contributed to propagate the idea ſtill entertained of the imperious haughtineſs of the Spaniſh nobility of the firſt rank. If ſome have ſtill preſerved the traces of it, in them it is coolneſs, timidity, and embarraſſment; or at leaſt, if I may uſe the expreſſion, their point of contact with the reſt of the nation.

We

We must not forget likewise, that this exterior gravity conceals in persons of every class a cheerfulness, which to discover itself only needs to be excited. To prove this, I shall not have recourse to the Spanish theatres, where buffooneries are so well received; this would rather be an argument against my assertion, because it has been remarked, that the theatres of gay nations are more serious than those of grave ones, as if the mind were principally delighted with those emotions which are most opposite to its habitual state.

But to enable the reader to judge whether or not the Spaniards have the vivacity I have attributed to them, I will conduct him to circles where they are at their ease; to their repasts, even before the vapours of the food and wine have fermented in their brain; I will introduce him to their conversations which abound in sprightliness, pleasantries and equivoques, all the legitimate or illegitimate offspring of vivacity;

city; and will there aſk him, if this be not more open and better ſupported than in French ſocieties, circles or *petit-ſoupers*. Undoubtedly he will ſay, that this vivacity is too noiſy, that it is vulgar. But contemptible is that delicacy which condemns men to tireſome inſipidity. Let this cheerfulneſs however, be condemned or not, by the caprice of faſhion, it does not the leſs exiſt becauſe our prejudices have taken a contrary turn.

Similar obſervations may be made on other defects with which the Spaniards are continually reproached. If I have not quite abſolved them from their idleneſs, I have taken the liberty to aſſert, that it was the conſequence of tranſient circumſtances, and will diſappear with them. In fact, when we witneſs the activity which appears upon the coaſt of Catalonia, throughout the whole kingdom of Valencia, in the mountains of Biſcay, and in all places were induſtry is encouraged, and commodities have an eaſy and certain ſale; when on the other hand

hand, we obſerve the laborious life of the muletiers and caleſſieros, who courageouſly conduct their mules and carriages throughout the whole country by the moſt dangerous roads; the huſbandmen who, in the plains of La Mancha and Andaluſia, harden themſelves to the labours of the fields, which the nature of the ſoil, the diſtance of their habitations, and the heat of the moſt burning climate in Europe, render more painful than in other countries; when we conſider the number of Galicians and Aſturians who, like our Auvergnians and Limouſins, ſeek at a diſtance the ſlow and painful means of ſubſiſtence; when we perceive that the idleneſs with which the Spaniards are ſo much reproached, is circumſcribed within the boundaries of the two Caſtiles, that is, the part of Spain the moſt unprovided with roads, canals, and navigable rivers; it is but juſt, to conclude that this vice is not an indelible ſtain in the character of the Spaniſh nation; that it is only the reſult of the tranſient nature of things;

and that a government active and enlightened like the preſent, will find means intirely to eradicate it.

There is another defect which has much affinity to idleneſs, at leaſt it manifeſts itſelf by much the ſame ſymptoms; which is ſlowneſs; and from this it would be more difficult to exculpate the Spaniards. It muſt be allowed, that knowledge penetrates but ſlowly into Spain. In political meaſures, war, and all the operations of government; nay, even in the common occurences of life, when other nations act, they ſtill deliberate. Miſtruſtful and circumſpect, they fail in as many affairs by ſlowneſs, as others by precipitation. This is the more extraordinary, as their lively imagination ſhould ſeem of a nature to be irritated by delay. But in nations, as in individuals, there is not a ſingle quality which is not frequently modified by a contrary one, and in the ſtruggle, the triumph is always on the ſide to which the mind is moſt forcibly diſpoſed by the circumſtance of the moment.

ment. The Spaniard, naturally cold and deliberate when nothing extraordinary moves him, is inflamed to enthuſiaſm, when his haughtineſs, reſentment, or any of the paſſions which compoſe his character, are awakened either by inſult or oppoſition. Hence it is, that the Spaniſh nation, apparently the moſt grave, cold, and ſlow in Europe, ſometimes becomes one of the moſt violent when circumſtances deprive it of its habitual calm and deliver it up to the empire of the imagination. The moſt dangerous animals are not thoſe which are in the moſt continued agitation. The aſpect of the lion is grave as his pace; his motions are not without an object; his roarings not in vain. As long as his inaction is undiſturbed, he loves peace and ſilence, but if he be provoked, he ſhakes his mane; fire ſparkles in his eyes; he roars tremendouſly, and the king of animals appears.

It is this combination of ſlowneſs and violence which perhaps conſtitutes the moſt formidable

formidable courage; and ſuch ſeems to me to be that of the Spaniards. The cauſes which retained them in continual inactivity have diſappeared. The vicinity of the Moors, which was not the leaſt of them, has long loſt its effect; as well as the united motives of hatred, jealouſy and fanaticiſm which increaſed its intenſity. The wars of the laſt century, and that of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, were not ſufficient to keep it up to the height at which it then was. Spaniſh courage therefore, may ſeem abated; but it is capable of being rouzed, and is eaſily excited upon the leaſt ſignal. The revolution in this reſpect is not ſenſible, except in circumſtances in which courage is uſeleſs, or ſometimes prejudicial, and rather the vice of a ferocious people, than the virtue of a poliſhed nation. The name alone of infidels excited fury, but the age of the Pizarros and Almagros is forgotten, happily for Spain and humanity. The coloniſts of Spaniſh America, and the natives ſhe has ſtill preſerved,

no

no longer tremble under the yoke of the mother country.

If religious intolerance exists in Spain, it is only in declamation, and the zeal of persecution is considerably abated. The Spaniards begin to think that religion may permit policy to treat as useful neighbours, those whom they had only viewed as irreconcileable enemies. In Spain, as well as in other nations, the progress of knowledge and philosophy, though it may have been slow, has sensibly softened the manners. The traces of ancient barbarity successively disappear. Assassinations were formerly common in Spain. Every man of respectability, and every one who held a public employment had his assassins at command; which were hired in the kingdom of Valencia, as it is pretended witnesses are in some of the French provinces. This dreadful custom was in some measure the consequence of the weapons then in use. One of these was a species of triangular poniard which, concealed under

der the cloak, was drawn forth to take vengeance in the firſt moment of reſentment. A ſtroke from it was much more dangerous than one from a ſword, the uſe of which cannot be ſecret, and requires ſome dexterity; and it was more to be feared than the common poniard known by the name of *rejon*. The uſe of theſe perfidious weapons is not yet entirely aboliſhed, and furniſhes a ground for the accuſations with which foreigners continue to vilify the Spaniards. It is ſeldom that the manners of a people are corrected by violent and precipitate means. A miniſter of the preſent reign has made the ſad experiment. The long cloaks and round hats pulled over the face favoured diſorders, and particularly thoſe which endangered the ſafety of the citizens. He wiſhed to uſe coercive means, and even open force, to prevent their being worn for the future in the capital. The people mutinied, and the miniſter was ſacrificed; the manner of dreſs ſo ſuddenly attacked, was in part continued after his diſgrace; but milder and more

ſlow meaſures, the example of the court, and thoſe about it, added to the activity of a vigilant police, have conſiderably contributed to correct the evil. The ſpecies of maſk, under the name of a hat, which encouraged inſolence by inſuring impunity, is totally laid aſide; and the cloak, very convenient for thoſe who know how to wear it, now favours nothing but idleneſs.

The uſe of the fatal poniard ſtill exiſts in ſome parts of Spain, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces, but it is wholly confined to the loweſt rank. Some bravoes make it a bug-bear to the weak, and with the violent and paſſionate it is the inſtrument of immediate vengeance. The eccleſiaſtics have made it a part of their miſſion of peace and charity to diſarm their pariſhioners. The archbiſhop of Granada, in particular, has with this view ſucceſsfully employed his arguments from the pulpit. Poniards and aſſaſſinations are, however, ſtill common in Andaluſia; where the

power-

powerful influence of climate yet is manifeſt, when not counter-balanced by moral agency. During the ſummer, a certain eaſterly wind cauſes in that province a kind of phrenzy, which renders theſe exceſſes more common then than at any other ſeaſon of the year.

But let the natural face of Spain be renewed; let roads and canals croſs the diſtricts hitherto almoſt inacceſſible; let a more eaſy communication render the vigilance of the agents of government more active and certain; let an increaſeing population expoſe to the public eye, and to public puniſhment, the villains who reign but in ſolitude, like wild beaſts in a deſart; let the progreſs of agriculture, induſtry, and commerce give employment to miſchievous idleneſs; in a word, let the preſent plan of government be executed, and it will ſoon appear, in this reſpect as in others, that the influence of climate will yield to ſuch powerful cauſes. The revolution in manners, within the laſt half century,

tury, evinces the truth of this prediction. It was not until the preſent century that two barbarous cuſtoms were by degrees aboliſhed, which ought long before to have been proſcribed by reaſon and humanity. I mean the *Rondalla* and the *Pedreades*. The former of theſe is a kind of defiance which two bands of muſicians give to each other. Without any other motive than that of giving a proof of bravery, they meet with ſwords and fire-arms, fire at each other, and then cloſe with ſwords. Will it be believed that this cuſtom ſtill exiſts in Navarre and Arragon? That of the *Pedreades* has but lately been diſuſed. This was alſo a kind of combat between two companies, armed with ſlings, who attacked each other with ſtones.

Such manners are equally ſhameful to thoſe who retain them and the government by which they are tolerated. However, as there is ſcarcely any vicious cuſtom which has not its reaſons as well as apparent advantages, there are certain per-

perſons who are diſpleaſed theſe inſtitutions ſhould be aboliſhed, alledging that though they cannot be denied to be proofs of ferocity, they are equally ſo of courage, which they contribute to maintain among the people. Nothing but pity remains for thoſe who ſhew by ſuch arguments that reaſon, in their opinion, is incompatible with true courage, the only one which the glory and ſafety of nations require; as if in any war the arms of barbarians had ever been known to combat with advantage againſt diſciplined troops; or the ferocity of wild diſorder to inſure ſucceſs in military operations. The abettors of ſuch paradoxes undoubtedly regret the revolution, which it is ſaid the work of Cervantes has operated in the manners of Spain, by throwing an indelible ridicule on thoſe adventurers who, neglecting the duties of their ſtation, and the care of their families create themſelves dangers to enjoy the vain glory of braving them; who offer the aid of their reſtleſs valour to thoſe who

who aſk it not, and whoſe importunate ſervices are at leaſt uſeleſs in countries where charity watches to aſſiſt the wretched, and where the weak are protected by a well regulated police.

The bull-fights are what principally ſeem to be ſome remains of barbariſm in the manners of the Spaniards, but at the ſame time they are more ſuſceptible of apology. Theſe combats, to which the Spaniſh nation has the ſtrongeſt attachment, though highly repugnant to the delicacy of the reſt of Europe, are conſidered by many Spaniards as one means of preſerving, in their nation, the energy by which it is characteriſed; from the habit of exciting violent emotions, which are diſagreeable to none but weak minds. For my part, though I wiſh to reſpect a taſte which I confeſs is by no means in uniſon with my own, I have never been able to comprehend what relation there is to ſtrength and courage, in a ſpectacle where thoſe preſent

are expoſed to no danger, in which the actors prove by the rarity of accidents*, that the hazard they run is not of a nature to excite much concern, and in which the wretched victims that are ſacrificed have nothing to expect but a certain and painful death, as a reward for their courage and vigour. Another proof that this ſpectacle has no influence upon the mind is, that I have ſeen among the ſpectators, children, young women, the aged of both ſexes, men of every age, claſs, and character, in whom the habit of frequenting theſe bloody entertainments corrected not their weakneſs or timidity, or changed the ſoftneſs of

* Whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, they are very rare. The cavaliers who are thrown ſometimes receive contuſions, but during almoſt four years that I was preſent at bull-fights, I knew but one *Torreador* who died of his wounds. A prieſt, however, provided with the viaticum and holy oils, is conſtantly preſent in a kind of latticed box, where he is not ſeen by the ſpectators; a precaution which, notwithſtanding its inutility, has been preſerved, like many other human inſtitutions, merely by the force of cuſtom.

their

their manners. Theſe diverſions are very expenſive, but very profitable to the undertakers. The price of the loweſt places is two, or four reals, according as they are expoſed to the ſun or in the ſhade. The higheſt price is a great piaſtre. After the value of the horſes and bulls, and the ſalary of the *Torreadores* have been deducted from the money received, the remainder is commonly dedicated to pious uſes: at Madrid it forms the principal funds for the ſupport of the hoſpital.

Bull-fights are moſtly given in ſummer, becauſe in this ſeaſon ſpectators may remain in the open air, and the animals are more vigorous. Privileged breeds are condemned to this ſpecies of ſacrifice. As ſoon as the bull appears in the circle, all the connoiſſeurs name the breed he is of. There are twenty benches round the circle, and that only which is moſt elevated is covered. The boxes are in the upper part of the edifice. In ſome cities, as in Valladolid,

where there is no particular place ſet apart for the combat, the principal ſquare is converted into a theatre for the purpoſe. The balconies of the different ſtories are continued acroſs the ends of the ſtreets which there terminate: the ſight of the people of every claſs aſſembled round the ſquare, expecting the ſignal for battle, and exhibiting in their countenances every ſign of joy and impatience, has in it ſomething intereſting if not pleaſing.

The exhibition begins by a kind of proceſſion round the ſquare, in which the champions, as well on foot as on horſeback, who are to attack the fierce animal, make their appearance; after theſe come two alguazils on horſeback, gravely advancing, in wigs and black robes, who go to the preſident of the combat (the governor or the corregidor) for an order to begin. The ſignal is immediately given. The animal, until then ſhut up in a kind of cabin, the door of which opens into the circle, makes his ap-

appearance. The agents of Themis, who have no quarrel with him, prudently haſten their retreat, and their fear, but ill ſeconded by their horſes, is the prelude to the cruel pleaſure which the ſpectators are about to enjoy.

The bull is received and ſtunned with their cries and noiſy expreſſions of joy. He has firſt to combat with the horſemen *(Picadores)* who, cloathed after the ancient manner of the Spaniards, and as it were faſtened down upon their ſaddles, wait for him armed with long lances. This exerciſe, which requires addreſs, ſtrength and courage, has nothing in it degrading. Formerly the greateſt among the nobility diſdained not to take a part in it; at preſent, even ſome hidalgos ſolicit the honor of combating on horſeback, and upon occaſion are previouſly preſented to the people under the auſpices of a patron, who is commonly one of the principal perſons of the court.

The Picadores, whoever they may be, open the ſcene. The bull, without being provoked, frequently attacks them, from which circumſtance, when it happens, all the ſpectators conceive a great opinion of his courage. If, notwithſtanding the pointed ſteel which repels his attack, he again returns to the charge, the cries are redoubled, pleaſure then becomes enthuſiaſm: but if the animal be pacific, diſconcerted, and cowardly runs round the circle, avoiding his perſecutors, murmurs and hiſſings reſound throughout the theatre. All thoſe within whoſe reach he paſſes, load him with blows and execrations. It ſeems as if he were a common enemy who has a great crime to expiate, or a victim whoſe ſacrifice is of conſequence to all the people. If nothing can rouſe his courage, he is judged unworthy of being tormented by men, and the repeated cries of *perros, perros*, bring on him new enemies.

Great dogs are then let looſe upon him, who ſeize him by the neck and ears,

ears. The animal now finds the uſe of his natural weapons. The dogs thrown into the air, fall ſtunned, and ſometimes lacerated, upon the ground; they riſe again, renew the combat, and commonly end by overthrowing their adverſary, who then periſhes ignobly. On the contrary, if he has preſented himſelf with a good grace, his career is more glorious, but longer and more painful. The firſt act of the tragedy belongs to the combatants on horſeback; this is the moſt animated but the moſt bloody and diſguſting part of the whole. The irritated animal braves the ſteel which makes deep wounds in his neck, falls furiouſly upon the innocent horſe who carries his enemy, gores his ſides and overturns him with his rider.

In this caſe, the latter upon the ground and diſarmed, is in imminent danger, until the combatants on foot, called *Chulos*, come to his aſſiſtance, and provoke the animal by ſhaking before him ſtuffs of different colours.

But it is not without danger to themſelves that they ſave the diſmounted horſeman. The bull ſometimes purſues them, and they then have need of their utmoſt agility. They frequently eſcape him by letting fall the ſtuff which is their only weapon, and upon which the fury of the deceived animal is exhauſted. But it ſometimes happens that he is not thus to be impoſed upon, and the champion has no other reſource than leaping over the barrier ſix feet high, which forms the interior of the circle. In ſome places there are two barriers, and the intermediate ſpace forms a kind of circular gallery, behind which the purſued torreador is in ſafety. But when the barrier is ſingle, the bull makes efforts to leap it, which he ſometimes accompliſhes. The alarm of the neareſt ſpectators may eaſily be imagined; their precipitation in retiring, and crowding upon the upper benches, becomes more fatal to them than the fury of the animal, which ſtumbling at each ſtep upon the narrow and uneven ſpace, rather thinks of ſaving

ving himſelf than ſatisfying his vengeance; and beſides, ſoon falls under the blows that are haſtily and repeatedly given him.

Except in theſe caſes, which are rare, he returns to the charge. His diſmounted adverſary having had time to recover himſelf, immediately mounts his horſe again, provided the latter be not too much wounded, and the attack is renewed; but the cavalier is frequently obliged to change his horſe. I have ſeen ſeven and eight horſes gored, or their bowels torn out, by the ſame bull, fall dead upon the field of battle. No words can then ſufficiently celebrate theſe acts of proweſs, which for ſeveral days become the favourite ſubjects of converſation. The horſes, aſtoniſhing examples of patience, courage and docility, preſent, before they die, a ſight at which I ſhall willingly permit my gay countrymen to ſhudder. They tread under their feet their bloody entrails which fall from their lacerated ſides, and for ſometime

obey

obey the hand which leads them on to new torments. Diſguſt then ſeizes ſuch of the ſpectators as poſſeſs any ſenſibility and embitters their pleaſure.

But a new act ſoon reconciles them to the diverſion. When it is judged that the bull has been ſufficiently tormented by the combatants on horſeback, theſe withdraw, and leave him to the champions on foot, called *banderilleros*; who meet the animal, and the moment he attacks them, ſtick into his neck, two by two, a kind of arrow, called a *banderilla*, terminated like a fiſh-hook, and ornamented with little ſtreamers of ſtained paper. The fury of the bull is redoubled; he roars, and his vain efforts render more acute the dart which has been lodged in him. This laſt torment gives a fine opportunity for a diſplay of the agility of his new adverſaries. The ſpectators at firſt tremble for their ſafety when they ſee them brave the terrible horns of the animal; but their ſkilful hands give the blow ſo ſurely, and they eſcape

eſcape ſo nimbly from the danger, that after a few times they are neither pitied nor admired; and their addreſs appears nothing more than a trifling epiſode in the tragedy of which the cataſtrophe is as follows.

When the vigour of the bull appears almoſt exhauſted, and his blood, flowing from twenty wounds, and pouring from his neck, moiſtens his robuſt ſides; the fury of the people, thus ſatiated upon him, calls for another victim; the preſident then gives the ſignal for his death, which is announced by the ſound of drums and trumpets. The *Matador* advances and is ſeen alone in the circle; in one hand he holds a long knife, in the other a kind of flag which he waves before his adverſary. Thus together they ſtop and obſerve each other. The impetuoſity of the bull is ſeveral times avoided by the agility of the Matador, and the pleaſure of the ſpectators is rendered more lively by their ſuſpence. Sometimes the animal remains immoveable; he ſcrapes the ground

ground with his feet and ſeems to meditate vengeance. Thoſe who are familiar with the beauties of Racine, may then perhaps recollect the two following lines of that admirable author.

Il le voit, il l'attend et ſon ame irritée,
Pour quelque grand deſſein ſemble s'être arretée. *

The bull in this ſituation, and the Matador who diſcovers his intention and carefully obſerves his ſlighteſt motion, form a picture which an able pencil might not diſdain to delineate. The ſilence of the aſſembly reſpects this dumb ſcene. At length the Matador gives the fatal blow; and if the animal immediately falls, the triumph of the conqueror is celebrated by a thouſand exclamations; but if the blow be not deciſive, if the bull ſurvives and again ſtrives to brave the fatal knife, the murmurs are not leſs numerous. The Matador, whoſe addreſs was about to be extolled to the ſkies, is

* He ſees and waits for him, and his irritated mind ſeems to be fixed on ſome great deſign.

conſidered

conſidered only as a clumſy butcher. He inſtantly endeavours to recover from his diſgrace, and diſarm the ſeverity of his judges. His zeal ſometimes becomes a blind fury, and his partiſans tremble for the conſequences of his imprudence. At laſt he gives a better directed blow. The animal vomits ſtreams of blood, and ſtruggling with death, ſtaggers and falls, while his conqueror becomes intoxicated with the applauſes of the people. The bull is then tied by the horns which have betrayed his valour; and, although ſo lately furious and haughty, is ignominiouſly dragged from the circle he has juſt honoured, leaving nothing behind but the traces of his blood, and the remembrance of his exploits, which is ſoon effaced by the appearance of his ſucceſſor. On each of the days dedicated to theſe feaſts are ſacrificed (at leaſt at Madrid) ſix bulls in the morning and twelve in the afternoon. The names of the combatants of each are previouſly announced in the public prints. The three laſt of the animals are excluſively left to the

Matador,

Matador, who, without the aſſiſtance of the Picadores, employs all his dexterity to vary the pleaſures of the ſpectators. He ſometimes ſuffers an intrepid ſtranger, mounted upon another bull, to combat them; at others he turns a bear againſt them. The laſt bull is particularly devoted to the entertainment of the populace. The points of his horns are covered with a round caſe, which diminiſhes the effect of their ſtrokes.

In this ſtate the bull, which is then called *Embolado*, loſes the power of piercing and lacerating his adverſary. The ſpectators deſcend in crowds to torment him, each according to his own manner, and often expiate their cruel pleaſure by violent contuſions. But the creature always falls at laſt under the blows of the Matador. The few ſpectators who partake not of the general fury, regret that theſe wretched animals purchaſe not their lives, at leaſt, at the expence of ſo many tortures and efforts of courage. They would willingly aid them to eſcape from their

their perſecutors. In the humane few, diſguſt ſucceeds to compaſſion, and wearineſs to diſguſt: the uniform ſucceſſion of ſimilar ſcenes throws a languor upon the amuſement which the ſpectacle promiſed at the beginning.

But to the connoiſſeurs who have ſtudied the artifices of the bull, the reſources of his addreſs and fury, the different methods of alluring, deceiving, and tormenting him (for in ſome provinces this is a ſtudy from youth to manhood) no ſcene reſembles another, and they pity frivolous obſervers who know not how to diſtinguiſh their variety.

In this purſuit, as in others, the ſpirit of party confers reputation; and diſputes or exaggerates ſucceſs. When I arrived at Madrid, the connoiſſeurs were divided between two famous Matadores, Coſtillares and Romero, as people might be in other countries with reſpect to the merits of two celebrated actors. Each ſect was as enthuſiaſtic in its eulogiums

and poſitive in deciſion as the *Gluckiſts* and *Piccinifts* perhaps were in France. It is difficult to believe that the art of killing a bull, which ſeems to be the excluſive privilege of a butcher, ſhould be gravely diſcuſſed, and extolled with tranſport, not only by the people, but by the moſt ſenſible men, and women of the greateſt ſenſibility.

We can ſcarcely conceive how the chariot races in the olympic games could furniſh Pindar with a ſubject for his ſublime odes, which charmed all Greece, and confered immortality on the conquerors. The bull-fights ſeem to be a ſubject ſtill more ſterile, and yet inſpire enthuſiaſm. Every thing which pleaſes us in childhood, or that awakens in our minds violent emotions which are not abated by habit, may excite and excuſe that exalted ſentiment. Nothing ought to be inferred againſt the morals of a nation from objects, whatever they may be, by which enthuſiaſm is inſpired. The combats of gladiators, and the horrid

rid conteſts of criminals with ferocious beaſts excited it in the Romans. Horſe races produce in the Engliſh a kind of delirium. Shall we, on this account, refuſe the title of a poliſhed people to the former, or that of a philoſophical nation to the latter? In like manner the Spaniards, notwithſtanding their immoderate love of bull-fights, and the barbarous pleaſure they take in ſeeing the blood of thoſe innocent and courageous animals ſhed, are not therefore leſs ſuſceptible of every amiable and delicate emotion. After leaving theſe bloody diverſions, they enjoy not leſs the pleaſures of domeſtic peace, the confidence of friendſhip, and the delights of love; their hearts are not leſs ſuſceptible of pity, nor is their courage more ferocious. I am of opinion that in the ages when ſingle combats and aſſaſſinations were more frequent, they were not more attached than at preſent to their favourite diverſion.

They are become much more pacific. Their manners are ſoftened without their paſſion for bull-fights being diminiſhed; it ſtill exiſts in all its fervour. The day on which they are celebrated is a day of rejoicing for the whole diſtrict, as well as for the inhabitants for ten or twelve leagues round the place. The artiſt who can ſcarcely provide for his ſubſiſtence, has always a ſurplus to expend on this ſpectacle. The very chaſtity of the poor girl, whoſe poverty ſhould exclude her from it, would be in danger: her firſt ſeducer would be the man who ſhould pay for her admiſſion.

The Spaniſh government is well aware of the moral and political inconvenience of this kind of phrenzy; it has long been convinced, that for a people, among whom it would wiſh to encourage induſtry, it is a cauſe of diſorders and diſſipation; that it is prejudicial to agriculture by ſacrificing, in ſuch numbers, the robuſt animals which might be employed in cultivation, by deſtroying the ſource

ſource of cattle which would fertilize the country and feed the inhabitants, and by turning the paſtures from their moſt valuable deſtination. But it is forced to have reſpect for amuſements, which, perhaps, could not be openly attacked without danger; it, however, avoids encouraging them. Formerly the court counted the bull-fights in the number of entertainments it gave at certain times. The plaza-mayor, on ſuch occaſions, was the theatre of theſe exhibitions. The king and his family honoured the ſpectacle with their preſence. His military houſhold preſided to keep order. His halbardiers formed the inner circle of the theatre, and their long weapons were the only barrier they oppoſed to the dangerous caprices of the bull. Theſe feaſts, which by diſtinction were called *Fieſtas-reales*, are become more rare. There has been but one under the preſent reign. The reigning monarch, who endeavours to poliſh the manners of his nation and to turn its attention towards more uſe-

ful objects, wiſhes to deſtroy in it an inclination in which he perceives nothing but inconvenience; but he is too wiſe to employ violent means.

He has, however, confined the number of bull-fights to thoſe of which the produce ſerves to the ſupport of ſome charitable inſtitution, reſerving to himſelf the power of hereafter ſubſtituting other funds. The combats, by this means rendered leſs frequent, will, perhaps, loſe by degrees a part of their attraction, until more favourable circumſtances ſhall permit them to be entirely aboliſhed.

It is thus that, by ſucceſſive gradations, more the effect of time than wiſdom, the manners of a people are reformed and ſoftened. Thoſe of the Spaniards have within the laſt century undergone, in other reſpects, ſenſible revolutions. Formerly the point of honour, delicate to exceſs, occaſioned among them frequent duels; were other proofs

proofs wanting, their comedies and novels would furniſh a ſufficient number. At preſent their courage is not ſo reſtleſs, yet it is ſtill ſufficient in time of war to defend the country without diſturbing its repoſe during the mild reign of peace. On the other hand the Spaniards have preſerved their ancient virtues, patience and ſobriety; the former renders them conſtant in their enterprizes, and indefatigable in their labours; the latter preſerves them from the exceſſes too common in the other countries of Europe. I mean not to diminiſh their merit; beſides of what importance is the cauſe of virtues in men, provided they are uſeful in their effects. I dare therefore aſſert, that the ſo much boaſted ſobriety of the Spaniards is, in a great meaſure, the conſequence of their phyſical conſtitution, and of the quality of their food. Their robuſt and muſcular bodies, dried and hardened by the active heat of a burning climate, ſupport better the deprivation and ſuperabundance of

nouriſhment. In the firſt caſe, the abſtinence to which they may be compelled does not weaken them; in the ſecond, their ſtrength reſiſts the exceſſes of intemperance. The fleſh of animals, at leaſt in the Mediterranean provinces of Spain, contains, in a given quantity, more nutritive matter than elſewhere. Their roots, leſs ſpongy than in countries where water contibutes more than the ſun to their growth, are of a more nouriſhing ſubſtance. Strangers who remain ſometime at Madrid, ſoon perceive this ſuperiority, and if they yield to the appetite they may have upon their arrival, an endemial diſeaſe, called *Entripado*, a kind of cholic, which the phyſicians of the country only know how to treat, painfully informs them of their change of food and climate. It is ſo true, that the power of eating little or much is a conſequence of air and ſoil, that in the provinces, or in the kingdom of Valencia, for inſtance, where aliments contain leſs ſubſtance, a much greater indulgence of the appetite is neither

neither proſcribed by cuſtom nor prejudicial to health. With reſpect to intoxicating liquors, the ſobriety of the Spaniards proceeds in a great meaſure from Nature, which, always employing means proportioned to her end, has beſtowed on them a conſtitution analagous to the ſtrength of the wines produced by their ſoil, whilſt ſtrangers cannot with impunity drink of them to exceſs. Nothing is more uncommon than to ſee a Spaniard inebriated with wine, although that which he drinks is more ſpiritous than thoſe of France; and if a drunken ſoldier be ſeen in the ſtreets of Madrid, it is very probable he is a foreigner.

We may remark on this occaſion, that ſobriety ſeems to be the inheritance of the inhabitants of the South, as intemperance is that of thoſe of the North. We may alſo obſerve, that the people who commit moſt exceſſes in drinking are not thoſe whoſe ſoil produces the liquors by which they are inebriated, as

if Nature, which has given them the means of ſatisfying their thirſt and appetite, and adapted their organs to the uſe of theſe means, intended to puniſh them for ſeeking, at a diſtance, the food and liquor ſhe has created for others. Theſe diſpoſitions are undoubtedly deranged by other combinations. Habit changes them in more than one climate; but it ſeems to me that with a little attention, it is eaſy to diſcover the traces of the primitive intentions of Nature.

However this may be, the Spaniards will pardon me for conſidering their ſobriety as a virtue of climate; this is only reſembling them to other nations, and even to all the individuals of the human ſpecies, who equally owe their qualities to their education, rank in life, habits, the examples they have before them, and a thouſand other cauſes which depend not on themſelves. It is ſtill a great merit not to reſiſt beneficial impulſes.

The

The Spaniards have, beſides, that of triumphing over thoſe influences which diſpoſe to certain exceſſes, for which they might have ſerved as an apology. I have particularly in view a depraved taſte, reprobated by Nature, injurious to the fair ſex, and too common among the people of the ſouth. This is abſolutely unknown in Spain.

Jealouſy, another outrage on the ſex, the object of our homage, ſeems alſo to depend upon the influence of climate which communicates its ardour to the ſenſes and imagination. This odious paſſion, formerly ſo injurious in its ſuſpicions, cruel in its precautions, and implacable and ſometimes atrocious in its reſentments, is much weakened among the modern Spaniards. There are no people in Europe among whom fewer jealous huſbands are to be found. The women, who were formerly hidden from the public, of whom it was ſcarcely poſſible to gain a glimpſe through the openings of the lattices, which undoubtedly

owe

owe their name to the vile ſentiment which was the cauſe of their being invented *, now enjoy full liberty. Their rivals, the only remains of their ancient ſervitude, only ſerve at preſent to ſhelter their charms from a burning ſun, and to render them more attractive. Firſt invented by jealouſy, they are now employed to very different purpoſes. Coquetry has converted them into one of its moſt ſeducing ornaments; and in favouring ſecreſy they inſure impunity to the ſtolen pleaſures of love. The lovers who, under the balconies of their inviſible miſtreſſes, ſighed without hope, and had nothing but their guittar for witneſs and interpreter, are baniſhed to comedies and romances. Huſbands are become more docile, wives more acceſſible, and conqueſts, as it is ſaid, leſs ſlow and difficult. In this reſpect it belongs not to me to pronounce the eulogium of Spaniſh manners. Were I to

* *Jalouſie*, in the French language, ſignifies a lattice.

confine

confine myſelf to the evidence of my own experience, there are no women in Europe more pure. Whether it was from ſcruple, want of addreſs, or that I felt not in myſelf conſtancy ſufficient for the aſſiduities to which thoſe who render homage to the Spaniſh ladies muſt be devoted; or whether I was deterred by dangers ſtill more to be feared, although in ſome reſpects, perhaps chimerical, to which lovers are expoſed, I have no leſs reaſon to believe in their virtue, than to do juſtice to their charms. But not to advance any thing upon ſuſpicious evidence, I ſhall ſpeak of nothing relative to the Spaniſh ladies of which I have not myſelf a knowledge.

The women of every country have particular charms by which they are characteriſed. In England, by the elegance of their ſhape, and modeſty of their carriage; in Germany by freſhneſs of complexion, and in France by that amiable gaiety which animates all their features. The charm felt on approaching a Spaniſh lady,

lady has ſomething of deception which is not eaſily defined. It owes but little to the aid of the toilet. The complexion of a Spaniſh beauty is never ornamented with borrowed brilliance: art ſupplies not the colouring which nature has refuſed by expoſing her to the influence of a burning climate. But by how many beauties is ſhe recompenſed for her paleneſs? Where are finer ſhapes, greater eaſe in every motion, or ſofter delicacy of feature to be found than among the Spaniſh beauties? Grave, and rather melancholy, at firſt ſight, yet, ſhould one of theſe fair ones open on you her large black eyes, full of expreſſion, ſhould ſhe accompany her glances with a ſmile, inſenſibility itſelf falls at her feet. But if the coldneſs of her reception diſcourage not her admirer from addreſſing her, ſhe is as decided and mortifying in her diſdain, as ſhe is ſeducing in permiting him to hope.

In the laſt caſe ſhe leaves him no room to fear a long cruelty; but perſeverance, which

which in other countries accelerates the *dénouement*, muſt ſurvive it in Spain, and becomes a ſevere duty. The fortunate men whom ſhe deigns to conquer, and who are called *Cortejos*, are leſs diſintereſted but not leſs aſſiduous than the ciciſbei of Italy. A total ſacrifice is required of them. They muſt give proofs of this at all hours of the day, accompany the lady to the publick walk, the theatres, and even the confeſſional. But what is particular in this kind of intimacy, is that two perſons thus united by a ſentiment which ſeems inexhauſtible, are frequently ſilent, melancholy, and appear not as in other places, happy in the happineſs of each other's company. I know not if I injure the Spaniſh fair ſex; but I am diſpoſed to believe, their chains are not ſo eaſy to be borne, as difficult to avoid. The Spaniſh beauty is ſaid to be very rigorous in many reſpects; her caprices are ſometimes rather haſty, and too obedient to the impulſe of an ardent imagination. But that which is not eaſy to conciliate with her eternally varying fancies, and concurs with

with a thouſand other obſervations to prove the incoherency of the human heart, both in male and female, is the conſtancy of Spaniſh women in their attachments. The intoxication they cauſe and experience, far different from all extreme agitations or affections of the mind, which continue but a ſhort time, is prolonged greatly beyond the common term; and I ſaw, during my reſidence in Spain, more than one ſuch paſſion continue conſtant till the parties expired with old age. I have frequently ſought for the reaſon of this conſtancy; which diſconcerted all my ideas, and have imagined it to be in a religious ſcruple, certainly ill underſtood, as moſt ſuch ſcruples are. Perhaps, ſaid I to myſelf, the conſcience of a Spaniſh lady, ſufficiently complaiſant to permit her one gratification which offends her duty, would be terrified at a ſucceſſion of infidelities. In the firſt ſhe may poſſibly find an excuſe in human infirmity, in the irreſiſtible wiſh of the heart, which inclines her towards

towards one object, deſtined by nature to fix her affections.

It belongs to thoſe who are acquainted with the female heart and conſcience to judge of this conjecture. It is certain, that in Spain, more than in any other country, both men and women appear to conciliate the irregularity of manners with the moſt ſcrupulous obſervance of religious duties, and even with the mockeries of ſuperſtition. In many countries theſe exceſſes alternately ſucceed each other. In Spain they are ſimultaneous; and the women, in conſequence of this ſtrange mixture of religion and frailty, ſeem to aim leſs to prevent ſcandal, or conceal their conduct, than to eſtabliſh a kind of equilibrium between their faults and their merits; an incoherence in which both ſexes appeared to me to participate. It is the conſequence of error and weakneſs, and the moſt ſerious reproach I have to make that nation.

How many men have I known, who, though they led an extreme diſorderly life, frequented publick worſhip with an aſſiduity, which even true chriſtians do not conſider as an indiſpenſible duty, carefully obſerved every injunction of the church relative to abſtinence, and rendered to the miniſters almoſt degrading homages? How many women abandoned to an attachment utterly inconſiſtent with their duty, are ſurrounded with relicks, cover themſelves with a ſcapulary, oblige themſelves by vows to the performance of actions indifferent in their own nature, and ſcrupulouſly fulfil them. I believe hypocrites to be very rare in Spain; but to compenſate for this the ridiculous aſſociation of certain moral improprieties with ſuperſtitious practices, is more common there than elſewhere. Muſt this be attributed to a want of knowledge, or the criminal complaiſance of the directors of conſcience, who are thus prodigal of the indulgence of which they themſelves ſtand in need? Or is it the climate which muſt ſerve as

an

an excuſe for ſome vices, as it is the cauſe of ſome virtues; does it command the gratification of certain frailties too imperiouſly for conſciences, ſcrupulous in other reſpects, to be terrified from yielding compliance?

To endeavour to explain the diſſoluteneſs of morals, is to acknowledge it exiſts, and, notwithſtanding my favourable opinion of the Spaniards, I cannot but confeſs this charge. More faithful however, to the reſolution I have formed to be impartial, I muſt add, that this depravity is not ſo general as libertines, who always exaggerate their indiſcretions, are pleaſed to ſay it is; that there are even at Madrid families exemplary in their conduct, faithful huſbands, and wives who in other countries would be models of modeſty and propriety; that their daughters, although in general not reſerved in their carriage, promiſe much more than they grant, and that nothing is more rare than their anticipation of the rights of matrimony; that if opportunities of purchaſing pleaſures equally ſhame-

ful and eaſy to obtain, are frequent for thoſe who ſeek them, at leaſt proſtitution is neither ſo public nor impudent as in other countries; and that the police, by ſeverely prohibiting its ſcandalous ſeminaries, obliges it to conceal itſelf, and ſometimes purſues it to its ſecret retreats. I ſhall farther obſerve, that women rigorouſly baniſh from their ſociety thoſe familiarities* which are conſidered as indifferent by other nations, where the ſenſes, not ſo quickly inflamed, more ſlowly betray their diſorder; and that this diſtruſt of themſelves is at leaſt an homage which their weakneſs renders to modeſty. But provided they be not too nearly approached, they permit, and ſometimes provoke thoſe allurements at which decency is in other places alarmed.

They pardon equivoque, obſcenity, indelicate deſcriptions, all witticiſms and indiſcreet expreſſions. The free manner

* A woman would not permit the moſt chaſte kiſs to be given her in publick; and thoſe which are cuſtomary in our comedies, and of which no notice is taken, are entirely baniſhed from the Spaniſh ſtage.

in

in which they explain themſelves in ſome inſtances, cannot but aſtoniſh a ſtranger accuſtomed to convey his thoughts on ſimilar occaſions under a thicker veil. The Engliſh women have an extremely delicate and pure imagination, and no perſon would dare to wound their ears with an expreſſion in the leaſt tending to indecency. It is ſaid, they carry reſerve in this reſpect to that degree of exceſs which we ſhould call prudery. French women who do not repel the ſallies of an innocent gaiety, but whoſe decency impreſſes awe upon effrontery, are, in their turn, prudes in compariſon to the Spaniſh women. I have ſeen the latter hear without a bluſh, and even permit themſelves expreſſions which men of but few ſcruples would have reſerved for the orgies of debauchery. I have heard ſeveral of them ſing couplets which breathed ſomething more than voluptuouſneſs, and left the penetration of the hearer nothing to imagine. This circumſtance alone however, would not be ſufficient to prove the depravity of manners in Spain.

Purity of morals is certainly not a matter of convention. In every country depravity is nearly the ſame, except the modifications given it by law and religion. The moral purity of language is ſomething different; this varies according to time and place; it depends upon climate, cuſtom, manners and genius of language. Women who permit themſelves freedom of expreſſion, and give the example of it, are certainly not on that account more ſeducing to perſons of delicacy, but they are not more eaſily ſeduced. The woman who jeſts with vice is, perhaps, farther removed from it than ſhe who carefully repels it from her imagination, from a conviction of her own weakneſs; beſides, as it has frequently been remarked, manners are never more corrupted than when the moral purity of language is carried to the moſt ſcrupulous exceſs; becauſe then every mind is filled with depraved ideas, and the greateſt precaution muſt be taken that they may not be awakened. On the contrary, a nation not yet corrupted by exceſs of civiliſation, may have

in

in its language a kind of ingenuouſneſs which renders expreſſions far from entirely chaſte; and when, like our firſt parents, it begins to bluſh at its nakedneſs, we may be ſure, that like them, it has no longer preſerved its innocence.

This however, is not the caſe of the Spaniſh nation. I have only wiſhed to prove that the liberties the Spaniards permit themſelves in their language, may nevertheleſs be reconciled with much purer manners. I ſhould be inclined to believe theſe modes of expreſſion, ſhocking to the decency of other nations, would diſappear by a more refined civiliſation, more precautions in the education of young perſons, almoſt excluſively abandoned to the government of ſervants, even in the moſt diſtinguiſhed houſes, and eſpecially by better example, the moſt efficacious of all educations. But can a young lady, who from the moſt tender age has been familiariſed to the groſſeſt expreſſions which her preſence commands not reſpect enough to repreſs; who in com-

panies, to which ſhe is frequently admitted, hears applauſe beſtowed on impudence, which diſdains to throw a tranſparent veil even over the obſcenities in which it indulges; can one, whoſe ears are early accuſtomed to the indecent expreſſions which are permitted on the ſtage, and whoſe eyes repeatedly behold the wanton attitudes exhibited in the favourite Spaniſh dance, long preſerve in her imagination and language that virgin purity which is, perhaps, the greateſt charm of her ſex?

The dance I allude to, is the famous Fandango, at which foreigners are equally aſtoniſhed and offended, but to which they ſoon become more than partial.

No ſooner is this begun at a ball, than every countenance becomes animated, and even thoſe who by their age and profeſſion are moſt obliged to gravity, have much difficulty in preventing themſelves from joining in the cadence. It is related, on this ſubject, that the court of

of Rome, ſcandalized that a country renowned for the purity of its faith, ſhould not have long before proſcribed this profane dance, reſolved to pronounce its formal condemnation. A conſiſtory aſſembled, the proſecution of the Fandango was begun, according to rule; and ſentence was about to be thundered againſt it, when one of the judges judiciouſly obſerved, that a criminal ought not to be condemned without being heard. The obſervation had weight with the aſſembly. Two Spaniards were brought before it, and to the ſound of inſtruments diſplayed all the graces of the Fandango. The ſeverity of the judges was not proof againſt the exhibition; their auſtere countenances began to relax; they roſe from their ſeats, and their arms and legs ſoon found their former ſuppleneſs. The conſiſtory-hall was changed into a dancing-room, and the Fandango was acquitted.

After ſuch a triumph, it may be imagined that the remonſtrances of decency

have but little affect; its empire ſeems to be firmly eſtabliſhed. It is, however, different according to the places in which it is practiſed. It is frequently called for at the theatre, and generally cloſes private dances. In theſe caſes the intention is no more than lightly indicated; but, on other occaſions, when a few perſons aſſembled ſeem wantonly to ſhake off all ſcruples, the meaning is then ſo marked, that voluptuouſneſs aſſails the mind at every avenue; its incitements cauſe the heart of the modeſt youth to palpitate with deſire, and reanimate the deadened ſenſes of old age. The Fandango is danced by two perſons only, who never touch ſo much as even the hand of each other; but when we view their reciprocal allurements, their retreats and approaches; when we obſerve the female, in the moment when her languor announces an approaching defeat, ſuddenly acquire new courage to eſcape from her conqueror, who purſues her, and is purſued in his turn; the manner in which

theſe

theſe emotions are expreſſed by their looks, geſtures and attitudes, it is impoſſible not to confeſs with a bluſh, that theſe ſcenes are, to the real combats of Cytherea, what our military evolutions in peace are to the real diſplay of the art of war. The *Seguidilla* is another dance peculiar to the Spaniards. The figure is formed by eight perſons; at each corner the four couple retrace, although but momentarily the principal movements of the Fandango. A Spaniſh female dancing the Seguidilla, dreſſed in character, accompanying the inſtruments with caſtanets, and marking the meaſure with her heel with uncommon preciſion, is certainly one of the moſt ſeducing objects which love can employ to extend his empire.

The Spaniſh nation has a decided taſte for dancing, and the greateſt aptitude to excel in the art. Beſides the dances peculiar to the nation they have adopted thoſe of other countries without excepting the minuet; but the noble,

noble, decent and eaſy graces of this dance eſcape them. It appears, however, to have many attractions in the eyes of the Spaniards, and makes an eſſential part of their education. Each ball has a preſident, who, under the name of *Baſtonero* is to make every body dance the minuet, and who, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours to conſult the inclination of every one, in forming the couples, never fails to give offence to ſome. In the reign of Philip V. maſquerades were forbidden throughout all Spain. The count de Aranda, who while attentive to the police of the capital, did not neglect its pleaſures, had revived the public balls, and proſcribed maſquerades under Philip; but theſe two amuſements, which in other places are conſidered as innocent, ſurvived not the retreat of the miniſter, and being diſuſed when his adminiſtration ceaſed, added to the regret of the inhabitants of the capital.

The

The Spaniards are therefore reduced, for public diverſions, to bull-fights, and the national ſpectacles of which we ſhall hereafter take notice. Their private pleaſures have ſomething of the gravity which appears, at leaſt, in the exterior of their perſons. The game to which the common people ſeem moſt attached, is a feeble and ſpiritleſs image of the games which kept the ſtrength and addreſs of the ancients in continual activity. It is called *El juego de la barra*, and conſiſts in throwing a bar of iron to a certain diſtance.

People of faſhion have recreations of another kind. In general they ſeldom aſſemble to eat at each others houſes; and this is undoubtedly one of the circumſtances which contributes to their reputation for ſobriety. They are little acquainted with the innocent and healthful pleaſures of the country. But few among them are fond of the chace; of which the monarch and his family ſeem to poſſeſs the excluſive privilege. The amuſe-

amuſements of the country appear to have no attractions for the Spaniards. Their country-houſes might eaſily be numbered. Among the many rich individuals who inhabit the capital, there are, perhaps, not ten who have a country retreat. With reſpect to the caſtles, ſeats, &c. ſo numerous in France, England, and Italy, and which contribute to the embelliſhment of the environs of their capitals, there are ſo few in the vicinage of Madrid and the reſt of the Peninſula, that many travellers are of opinion the proverbial expreſſion, *building caſtles in Spain*, is thence derived.

The rich ſubjects of the kingdom therefore concentrate all their pleaſures within the cities. Muſic is one of thoſe for which the Spaniards have the greateſt taſte. They cultivate this art with ſucceſs. Not that their national muſic has made any great progreſs. If it has a particular character, it is to be found moſtly in little detached airs, called, in Spain, *Tonadillas* and *Seguidillas*; ſometimes agree-

agreeable melodies, but of which the modulations are little varied, and prove that the art of compoſition is ſtill in its infancy. In return for this they do the greateſt juſtice to the grand compoſitions of Germany and Italy, which always form a part of their frequent concerts; but they have the moſt profound contempt for French muſic, which, in their opinion, is languid and monotonous, not excepting the Vaudeville. Their prejudice, in this reſpect, is carried to ſuch a height, that an Italian air would become diſpleaſing to them by appearing in the livery of French words; ſo vain are they of their ſonorous and cadenced language, and ſo perſuaded that French ſyllables, by turns, mute and naſal, exclude the language from the poſſibility of being adapted to muſic. They have many lovers of harmony, but few compoſers worthy of notice.

A young poet at Madrid produced a few years ſince a poem on muſic, wherein didactic

didactic dryneſs is compenſated by ſeveral epiſodes, and brilliancy of imagination. Connoiſſeurs aſſure us that the character of Spaniſh muſic in particular is there given by a maſterly hand; but many examples muſt be added to the precepts contained in the poem, before it can be reliſhed by the reſt of Europe.

Balls and concerts are not the only entertainments at which the Spaniards aſſemble. They have alſo their *Tertulias* and *Refreſcos*. The Tertulias are aſſemblies very ſimilar to thoſe of France. Perhaps more liberty reigns in the former, but langour ſometimes eſtabliſhes its throne there as well as in the midſt of our circles.

Women in general ſeek not many occaſions to aſſemble; each aſpires to be the center of a Tertulia; and excluſive pretenſions undoubtedly contribute to baniſh from Spaniſh ſocieties what we call *French gallantry*. Women are there admi-

admired, and even adored, as well as elſewhere; but when they inſpire not a lively ſentiment, the men ſeldom pay them thoſe attentions which our politeneſs prodigally and indiſcriminately beſtows upon every individual of the amiable ſex. It is not in the reciprocal communication of tenderneſs that manners are ſoftened. The language of mere politeneſs is too cold for love: that impetuous paſſion commands and exacts ſacrifices, but deſpiſes ſimple reſpect. On the contrary, it is in the diſintereſted aſſociation of the two ſexes that the neceſſity and mutual deſire of pleaſing ariſes, which forms the charm and cement of ſociety. This is, perhaps, the only means wanting to the Spaniards to accompliſh the poliſhing of their manners.

Their *Refreſcos*, the invention of luxury and greedineſs, contribute no leſs than the Tertulias to facilitate the intercourſe of the two ſexes. In general, theſe are only light repaſts, prepared for

for perſons from whom viſits are received, and are as a prelude to the Tertulias; but on great occaſions, when a wedding, chriſtening, or the birth-day of the head of a family is to be celebrated, the Refreſco becomes an important and a very expenſive affair. All the family acquaintance are invited; and, in proportion as they arrive, the men ſeparate from the women. The latter take their ſeats in a particular chamber, and etiquette requires they ſhould remain alone until all the company be aſſembled, or at leaſt until the men ſtand up without approaching them. The lady of the houſe waits for them under a canopy, in a place ſet apart in the hall, which in ancient manners, not yet entirely aboliſhed, was called the *Eſtrado*, over which is commonly ſuſpended an image of the virgin. The appearance of the Refreſco, at length, enlivens every countenance, and infuſes joy into every heart; converſation becomes animated, and the ſexes approach each other. The company are firſt preſented

ſented with great glaſſes of water, in which little ſugar-loaves, called *Azucar eſponjado*, or *roſado*, ſquare and of a very ſpongy ſubſtance, are diſſolved; theſe are ſucceeded by chocolate, the favourite refreſhment twice a day of the Spaniards, and which is believed to be ſo nouriſhing, or at leaſt innocent, that it is not refuſed to perſons dangerouſly ill. After the chocolate come all ſorts of confectionary.

Et tous ces mets ſucrés en pâte ou bien liquides,
Dont eſtomacs dêvots furent toujours avides *.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive the profuſion with which all theſe delicacies are diſtributed. People are not only cloyed with them in the houſe of feſtivity, but they put quantities of them into paper, and even into their hats and handkerchiefs; and the ſervants are ſpeedily diſpatched home with the pre-

* And all thoſe ſugared paſtries and ſweet cordials of which devout ſtomachs were ever ſo greedy.

cious ſavings, which undoubtedly ſerve to furniſh the table of more than one miſer for ſeveral days. There is ſomething odd in this general rapaciouſneſs; and a ſtranger admitted, for the firſt time, to theſe kind of feſtivals, in which intoxicating liquors only are ſpared, ſeeks to diſcover the ſober nation and finds it not. It may be imagined that ſuch entertainments muſt weigh heavily on the œconomy of many individuals; moſt people regret the cuſtom which makes them neceſſary on certain occaſions; but, as is the caſe with all abuſes become ſacred by length of time, nobody has ſufficient courage to be the firſt to ſhake off the yoke.

A ball or card-tables commonly ſucceed to the Refreſco; but it very ſeldom happens that the entertainment is concluded with a ſupper. This is always a very frugal repaſt with the Spaniards, and at which they rarely aſſemble.

Their

Their cookery, ſuch as they received it from their anceſtors, is of a nature to pleaſe but very few people. They are fond of high ſeaſonings; pepper, pimenta, *tomates*, or ſaffron, colour or ſeaſon moſt of their diſhes. One of them only has been introduced amongſt ſtrangers, and the art of the French kitchen has not diſdained to adopt it; this is what in Spain is called *Olla-podrida*, and is a ſort of hotch-potch of every kind of meat cooked together. There is, however, generally a mixture in the Spaniſh cookery, except in ſome obſcure families attached to ancient cuſtoms; in moſt houſes it participates of the French cookery, and in ſome this has wholly ſupplanted that of Spain. Thus are the French every where imitated, whilſt they are ridiculed and ſometimes deteſted.

The modes of France have reached Spain as well as many other countries. French cloths, and the faſhions and colours approved in France, are worn under the Spaniſh cloak. The veil is no longer excluſively worn but by the women of

the loweſt claſſes; for others it ſerves but to hide the diſorder of their dreſs when they go out on foot. Except in this caſe, their head-dreſs and whole attire are carefully adjuſted to the French faſhion. The Spaniſh manufacturers exert themſelves to the utmoſt to ſerve the reigning taſte, and to follow it through all its rapid variations without requeſting the aid of France; but it may be aſſerted, without prejudice, that they are yet far from being able to attain their end. Great cities, and even the court, tacitly acknowledge this by having immediate recourſe to Paris or Lyons, as to the only true ſources of faſhions. In this reſpect, as in many others, the Spaniards who affect the *bon ton*, confeſs the ſuperiority of France, and receive from that nation leſſons on elegance. Their tables are ſerved after the French manner; they have French cooks, houſe ſtewards, and valets de chambre. French miliners are employed to invent and make new dreſſes for the ladies. Their heavy inelegant equipages diſappear

pear by degrees, and are exchanged for thoſe of their French neighbours. They neglect no means of engaging French artiſts and manufacturers to ſettle in Spain, and hold not out to them in vain the proſpect of a rapid fortune.

Theſe homages are not confined merely to frivolous objects. The beſt French works on morality, philoſophy, and hiſtory are, as well as thoſe of the Engliſh, tranſlated into the Spaniſh language, provided they do not appear dangerous to the purity of the faith. French literary works of mere amuſement, are for the moſt part thoſe only which have but little merit in the eyes of the Spaniards; and their taſte, in this reſpect, ſtill appears far from inclining to change.

Their imagination bold to extravagance, for which bombaſt is but enthuſiaſm, finds French ideas cold and timid. Accuſtomed to exaggeration and redundance, they are unable properly to

value either the juſtneſs or preciſion of the language of French writers. The fine ſhades of French ridicule and manners eſcape their eyes, too much accuſtomed to caricature; and with reſpect to ſtyle, their ear, vitiated by the pompous proſody of their cadenced periods, by the frequent and affected repetition of their ſonorous words, can find no grace in accents which ſpeak more to the mind than the ſenſes; and the roundneſs of elegant French periods is to them entirely loſt.

What chiefly prevents a reform in their literature, are the models they ſtill admire and endeavour to imitate; theſe are diſtinguiſhed by that bad taſte which infected all the nations of Europe, and to which the firſt literary men in France have paid an ample tribute. The great Corneille was not always free from it, but the fineſt productions of Racine, Boileau, Paſchal, Boſſuet, la Bruyere, Maſſillon, Bourdaloue, Flechier and Fenelon were erected on its ruins;

as

as were alſo thoſe of Voltaire, who, placing the top ſtone of the edifice, has inſured its immortal duration.

Had French literature remained in the ſtate it was when Ronſart, Marot, Benſerade, Voiture and Balzac wrote, their very defects would ſtill ſerve as models, and we ſhould poſſeſs wit and imagination without either reaſon or taſte. What might have happened in France, had no improvement been there made in letters by a concurrence of circumſtances, has happened to the Spaniards. Since the time of Lopes de Vega, Quevedo, Rebolledo and others, whoſe imaginations, though wild and licentious, were brilliant and fertile, no author with theſe ſplendid qualities, and at the ſame time endowed with that good ſenſe which directs their uſe, has appeared in Spain. Letters have, for upwards of a century, been in the ſame ſtate. Theſe men of genius, frequently extravagant even to abſurdity in their conceptions, have remained models of

ſtyle; and their example, without having produced any thing comparable with that which in them is juſtly admired, has ſerved as an excuſe to every reprehenſible irregularity of imagination, and all the violent bombaſt of falſe eloquence. The national taſte is formed upon theſe models in ſo invariable a manner, that ſome authors who have endeavoured to introduce into the theatre the elegant ſimplicity which French dramatic writers have attempted to revive, have gained no attention, ſo that the Spaniſh ſtage is ſtill in the ſame ſituation as when Boileau ſatirized its extravagance with ſo much ſeverity.

It would, however, be unjuſt to judge of this theatre according to Boileau's ſevere criticiſm. It undoubtedly ſtill ſuffers pieces in which the law of the three unities is flagrantly violated. But beſides that, this law may be conſidered as arbitrary, or at leaſt not abſolutely indiſpenſable; there are many Spaniſh pieces in which it is not tranſgreſſed in ſuch

ſuch a manner as to be prejudicial to the intereſt. The Spaniards themſelves paſs condemnation upon moſt of their heroic comedies, in which princes and princeſſes, from all corners of Europe, aſſembled without motive, as well as without probability, are by turns either actors or ſports of the moſt incredulous adventures, relate, converſe, and joke even in the moſt critical ſituations, and conclude by uſeleſsly ſhedding their blood without having made any ſpectator ſhed a tear. Although ſeveral of theſe pieces have original beauties, and all afford proofs of the rare talent of inventing a complicated intrigue, and of finding its *dènouement* in the thread which has ſerved to form it, the Spaniards found not upon this the much conteſted reputation of their theatre.

But there are ſome of theſe productions which they juſtly conſider as intitled to the admiration even of ſtrangers. Theſe are their characteriſtic pieces, which, though not ſo well conducted

as

as the beſt French pieces of the ſame kind, and though they cannot boaſt the ſame accuracy in the choice of ideas and expreſſions, are generally pleaſing in the ground work, faithful in moſt of the characters, and prove in their authors an uncommon fertility of imagination.

The pieces the Spaniards call *de Capa y Eſpada*, are thoſe which more particularly preſent an exact repreſentation of ancient manners, and theſe comedies are perhaps the real ſources to be reſorted to in the ſtudy of them. It is in theſe pieces that the generoſity by which thoſe manners are ſtill characteriſed, thoſe flights of patriotiſm and religious zeal which formerly rendered the Spaniards capable of the greateſt efforts; the ſwellings of national pride, which the pomp of ſtyle renders ſo noble; that irritability with reſpect to the delicate ſubjects of love and honour, which made duels ſo frequent in Spain, before the cauſes which ſoftened the manners of all Europe had gained ſufficient influence over

over thoſe of the modern Spaniards; the ſacrifices and ardour of hopeful love, and the anguiſhes and arts of a diſappointed paſſion are traced in the moſt lively colours. All the combats of the paſſion of love, all its reſources, all the diſorders it produces, in a word, all the intrigues now in uſe, were never publickly repreſented by any nation with greater variety than by the Spaniards at the period when jealouſy, the difficulty of approaching women, and a thouſand other obſtacles ariſing from the circumſtances of the times, rendered lovers more impatient, deſires ſtronger, and temptations more violent. Such is the deſcription given by the comedies of which the Spaniards are as fond as they were at the time they firſt appeared.

Their authors, of which Lopes de Vega, Roxas, Solis, Moreto, Arellano, and particularly the immortal Calderon de la Barca are the moſt celebrated, have ſo eſtabliſhed this kind of comedy by their ſucceſs, that more modern authors,

authors, as Zamora and Canizares, who wrote at the beginning of this century, dare not attempt any other.

The Spaniſh theatre therefore ſtill continues, excepting ſome difference, what it was in the laſt century; and notwithſtanding all I have juſt ſaid, I cannot but allow that it is full of defects. Incidents unſeaſonably ſucceed each other, and are without probability; inequalities are numerous and every thing is confounded. Real tragedy is never ſeen without a mixture unworthy of its noble nature; and all the comedies, like ſome of our chamber pieces, equally condemned by reaſon and taſte, aſſociate with affecting and ſometimes terrible ſcenes, a wretched parade, fit only for the booths of a fair. An inſipid buffoon, under the name of *Gracioſo*, inceſſantly diſturbs the attention with his vulgar grimace, and by the burſts of laughter he provokes, arreſts the tears which were ready to flow. Lovers are prolix haranguers; an expreſſion of ſentiment or delicacy from them, is preceded by a long

long and cold metaphyſical diſſertation upon love. Inſtead of a mother, ſon, king or warrior, you would imagine you were hearing ſome profeſſor of rhetoric, who to diſtinguiſh himſelf in his art, abuſes the talent of ſpeech. Cuſtom has made it neceſſary that each comedy ſhould contain ſeveral recitals or narratives, in which the author and actor, loſing ſight of the ſtory and the audience, ſeem to be wholly employed in making a parade, one of his vain eloquence, the other of his pretended talent of enforcing at the expence of his lungs, and by ridiculous, vulgar, and monotonous geſtures, the multiplied deſcriptions of his long declamation. Both are certain to receive, as a recompence for their effort of ſtrength, an ample ſhare of applauſe. On the other hand the plot is ſo confuſed, that there are few Spaniſh pieces to which theſe lines of Boileau may not be applied:

Et qui debrouillant mal une pénible intrigue
D'un divertiſſement me fait une fatigue. *

* And who badly developing a laboured plot, renders amuſement a fatigue.

What

What however appears ſingular is, this fatigue ſeems not to be felt by Spaniſh auditors, although they are for the moſt part of thoſe claſſes which a total want of education, or at leaſt one much neglected, renders incapable of reflection and combination. I have known many well informed ſtrangers, acquainted with the language of the country, who have declared to me, after the repreſentation of a Spaniſh comedy, that they ſhould have great difficulty in giving an analyſis of it, whilſt uneducated Spaniards proved by their recitals, that they had not for a ſingle inſtant loſt the thread of the labyrinth in which others had been bewildered.

Has habitually frequenting the theatre, added to a knowledge of the language and manners, which ſtrangers can never poſſeſs to the ſame degree as natives of the country, excluſively beſtowed on theſe perſons this ſingular aptitude? or have the Spaniards received to a greater degree than others the gift of imagining complicated plots, and of following through all

all their workings thoſe which they themſelves have not invented? They have however, this inconteſtible advantage over the French. Several of my countrymen, who want neither wit nor education, have confeſſed to me, that at a firſt repreſentation they have not been able to conceive the whole of ſome of our modern comedies, which in fact, approach in certain reſpects thoſe of the Spaniards, and it is perhaps the only reaſon why ſeveral of the latter, which, were a few particulars changed, ought to be every where approved, would not be ſucceſsfully repreſented on the French ſtage. This is a homage which our anceſtors were more diſpoſed to render them than we are.

The advantages which Moliere and Corneille derived from the Spaniſh theatre are well known. The principal beauties of the Cid and of Heraclius were taken from Guillen de Caſtro and Calderon. The Spaniſh theatre might ſtill be to us an abundant ſource of dramatic wealth, eſpecially

eſpecially at preſent, when our imagination, much leſs fertile than that of our neighbours, appears to be exhauſted, and when our taſte more refined and fixed than in the time of Corneille, would be better able to extract from that mine the treaſures it conceals. Exact tranſlations of the beſt Spaniſh pieces would furniſh the means. Theſe we have hitherto wanted; Mr. Linguet gave ſome of them to the public on entering his literary career. But he confeſſed that he knew not enough of the Spaniſh language, completely to fulfil the taſk; on which account his tranſlations are no more than abridgements, in which, nothing but the ſkeleton of a dramatic poem is preſerved; and the paſſages not rendered, were not thoſe which diſpleaſed the tranſlator, but ſuch as he did not underſtand. Still theſe eſſays, imperfect as they may be, are ſufficient to prove the great talents of the Spaniards for the theatre, their fertile imagination, their art in forming and working up a plot, and producing intereſting ſituations and unexpected diſcoveries.

coveries. With all theſe advantages, they ſtill want more natural dialogue to poſſeſs every eſſential to produce a good comedy. Authors who would enrich themſelves with their works, muſt conſult reaſon and their own national taſte, to add to the pieces they may borrow this additional grace. They would not fail to retrench the long and tedious narratives, the cold diſſertations, and the diſguſting buffooneries of the *Gracioſo*, which are diſpleaſing even to ſuch of the Spaniards as are familiar with the real beauties of foreign writers, and ancient and modern literature. They would alſo ſacrifice thoſe points, the play of words, the *concetti*, a tribute paid by every nation to falſe wit at the revival of letters, which ſeveral authors of the age of Louis XIV. ſuch as Voiture, Balzac, and Moliere himſelf, did not eſcape, and to which the modern Spaniards are ſtill ſubject. I have frequently remarked with aſtoniſhment, that they honoured with the appellation of ingenious thoughts, and applauded with a kind of ecſtaſy, many pleaſantries which we, who from our levity ſeem to be leſs nice about

any thing capable of exciting it, ſhould place in the claſs of low witticiſm. When I obſerved to them that a play upon words was contrary to fine taſte, that it ſhould be abandoned to the populace, or confined to familiar converſation, in which, every thing is found agreeable provided it excites laughter, they obſtinately maintained that in Spaniſh it had a ſubtilty which it was impoſſible for a ſtranger to perceive. It is true that even their ſerious works are ſo interlarded with theſe miſerable quibbles, that there are ſome of them, which to me, it ſeems impoſſible to tranſlate.* The Spaniards have no theatrical pieces in which they are not profuſely beſtowed; and the ſucceſs they have with the multitude, proves their authors to be

* This is the caſe of all playing upon words, becauſe it reſults from a fortuitous reſemblance between two words in a language which have different meanings. It is eaſy to perceive, that a work in which there are many of theſe quibbles cannot be rendered in another language. Who would undertake to tranſlate *la Béquille?* Several paſſages, and even whole works of ſome writers, as thoſe of Quevedo, in other reſpects full of wit and originality, would be almoſt as difficult to render in French.

carried

carried away by the corrupted taſte of the nation: they have endeavoured to flatter it, and by the aſcendancy of their authority have rendered it incurable. Such of our authors as ſhould attempt to introduce ſome of theſe pieces to the French theatre, would have no great merit in retrenching ſuch vain ornaments. I would recommend them to chuſe from thoſe of Calderon. Moſt of the other Spaniſh comic poets recompence not, like him, their defects by the originality of their invention. Lopez de Vega, the Spaniſh author with whom ſtrangers are moſt acquainted, and whom his countrymen, always emphatical in their eulogiums, extol as, *admirable in lyric poetry, eloquent in heroic, melodious in paſtoral, grave in epic,* and *ingenious and fertile in dramatic,** is ſtill

* The epithet *fertile* cannot be diſputed him: it has been repeatedly ſaid, that he wrote three thouſand pieces. When truth already ſurpaſſes probability, exaggeration is at leaſt uſeleſs. Perez de Montalvan, who knew Lopez de Vega, allows him but eighteen hundred comedies; but theſe ſufficiently entitle him to the epithet *fertile*. His cotemporaries aſſure us, that upon a hint from the king or ſome courtier, he

ſtill more extravagant in his plots than Calderon. However, he was better acquainted

compoſed a comedy in one night. Theſe rapid productions had then a merit which at preſent they have not. They related ſome temporary anecdotes, and preſented good likeneſſes of certain perſons whom the malignity of the court wiſhed to turn into ridicule. They could not ſurvive theſe tranſient circumſtances. But few of them are now pleaſing to the modern Spaniards, and in the voluminous edition they have recently given of the works of Lopez de Vega, very few of thoſe comedies are inſerted. The principal among them is his *Dorothea*, which the Spaniards ſtill conſider as a maſter piece of wit, ſenſibility, and delicacy, but in which I found nothing but vulgar manners, deſcribed in a perplexed ſtyle; there are nevertheleſs ſome ingenious ideas and marks of ſentiment. I open this comedy by accident, and find in the ſtanzas which Ferdinand ſings in praiſe of Dorothea the following paſſage: *Between the moon and thy favour, and the ſun and thy eyes, the earth of thy rigour places itſelf to caſt a ſhade and cauſe eclipſes.* In another place, ſpeaking of his grief, of which, he ſays, he has no confidents but the rocks and wild beaſts, he adds: *Theſe, by their roarings, ſpread terror, and find in their entrails the echo of my complaints.* An old woman who cajoles Dorothea with no good intention, and who praiſes her for the taſte of her dreſs, ſays to her, *Behold theſe ornaments with which the ſun might trim the robes of his planets.*

The

quainted than any of his cotemporaries with the rules of the theatre. He has reconciled his countrymen to them. He perhaps would have had the honor of effecting a total revolution in their taſte had he had the courage to join example to precept; but he preferred to this the momentary ſatisfaction of flattering their foibles. Poſterity has paſſed judgment upon this culpable complaiſance. Few of his pieces have come down to us, whilſt thoſe of Calderon, more original, elegant and varied, with a greater juſtneſs in his characters, are ſtill received with tranſport in the preſent age. After Calderon, Moreto holds a diſtinguiſhed rank among the Spaniſh dramatiſts; but his plots are no leſs faulty, and his ſtyle ſtill more corrupt than thoſe of the former; and the buffooneries of his *Gracioſos*, which conſtitute the chief merit of his pieces, would not be ſuffered on our theatre.

The comedy of *Dorothea*, like moſt of thoſe of the Spaniſh theatre, is full of ſimilar witticiſms, which Moliere would not have dared to give to his *Precieuſes Ridicules*.

Nearly the ſame obſervations are true of Zamora, who wrote towards the end of the laſt century. Cannizares, who began when Zamora was upon the decline, was ſucceſsful in ſome pieces which are ſtill well received, called by the Spaniards, *Comedias de figurones*; a kind of caricature farce in the ſtyle of our *Monſieur de Pourceaugnac* *, but which can only be reliſhed by ſpectators who are well acquainted with the originals they are meant to ſatirize. Such are *Domine Lucas*, and the *Montanez en la Corte*, of which the vulgar buffoonery and groteſque ſcenes would not ſucceed upon our theatre, if even a number of circumſtances, which excluſively relate to the cuſtoms of the country, did not render them unintelligible.

The comedies which have appeared ſince theſe, are without merit in the eyes of the Spaniards themſelves. This kind of literature has been left to the moſt

* A favorite French comedy by Moliere.

ordinary

ordinary writers, who, without genius, and ſervilely following their models, imitate their extravagance only, and ſeem to have nothing by view but to pleaſe the populace in flattering their inclination to the marvellous, laviſhing romantic adventures, and groſs witticiſms, and having recourſe to all the contemptible reſources which ſo ill ſupply the want of real abilites. The men of letters who may have talents proper for the drama, deſpairing to bring it among their countrymen to the rules of good taſte, cultivate other branches of literature.

They have, however, made ſome attempts, the ſucceſs of which has proved that what is really excellent pleaſes in all countries. Several tranſlations of the beſt French tragedies have been well received by the ſame public, which has been ſo much accuſtomed to the extravagance and buffoonery of the Spaniſh theatre. Poets, ſtill living, have written ſome tragedies invented by themſelves,

ſelves, and executed upon the models of thoſe of the French ſtage, that is to ſay, freed from that irregularity of ſtyle, complication of incidents, and that mixture of vulgar and wretched buffoonery with the moſt pathetic ſcenes. Their works, however, have only excited a cold admiration, and were ſoon obliged to give place to irregular productions which now reign without a rival.

There are, notwithſtanding, ſome modern pieces which have at leaſt the merit of faithfully delineating characters. Theſe are what the Spaniards call *Saynetes* or *Entremes*, which are little pieces in one act, as ſimple in their plots as thoſe of great pieces are complicated. The manners and character of the inferior claſſes of ſociety, and the petty intereſts which aſſociate or divide them, are therein repreſented in the moſt ſtriking manner. It is not an imitation but the thing itſelf. The ſpectator ſeems to be ſuddenly tranſported into a circle of Spaniards, where he

he is preſent at their amuſements and little cavilings. The manner of dreſs is ſo faithfully copied that he is ſometimes diſguſted. He ſees porters, flower girls, and fiſh-women, who have all the geſtures, manner and language of thoſe he has ſeen a hundred times in the ſtreet. For theſe kinds of characters the Spaniſh comedians have an admirable talent. Were they equally natural in every other they would be the firſt actors in Europe. The compoſition of theſe little pieces, however, require no great talents. It might be ſuppoſed the author was afraid of going too far, and only waited for an expedient to withdraw himſelf from his embarraſſment. He opens the door of a private houſe, and preſents, as by chance, ſome of the ſcenes which moſt commonly paſs in it; and as ſoon as he thinks the ſpectator's curioſity ſatisfied, he ſhuts the door and the piece concludes.

The *Saynetes* ſeem to have been invented to give relief to the attention of the

the audience fatigued by following the intrigue of the great piece through its inextricable labyrinth. Their moſt certain effect is that of making you looſe the clew; for it ſeldom happens that the real Spaniſh comedies are repreſented without interruption. They are compoſed of three acts, called *Jornadas*. After the firſt act comes the Saynete, and the warrior or king, whom you have ſeen adorned with a helmet or a crown, has frequently a part in the little piece; and to ſpare himſelf the trouble of entirely changing his dreſs, ſometimes preſerves a part of his noble or royal garments. His ſaſh or buſkin ſtill appears from beneath the dirty cloak of a man of the loweſt claſs, or the robe of an Alcalde. The ſtranger, who is ignorant of the odd cuſtom of joining together objects ſo incongruous, imagines the hero who has ſo long occupied his imagination has aſſumed a diſguiſe uſeful to his purpoſe; and ſeriouſly ſeeks for the connexion between that ſcene and thoſe pre-

preceding. When the Saynete is finiſhed, the principal piece is continued.

After the ſecond act, there is a new interruption longer than the firſt; another Saynete begins, and is ſucceeded by a ſpecies of comic-opera, very ſhort, and called *Tonadilla.* A ſingle actreſs frequently performs the whole, ſhe relates, in ſinging, either an unintereſting adventure, or ſome trivial maxims of gallantry; if ſhe be a favourite with the public, and her indecent manner ſatisfies the admirers of this inſipid and ſometimes ſcandalous repreſentation, ſhe obtains the applauſe, which ſhe never fails to ſolicit at the concluſion, and the third act of the great piece is permitted to begin. It may be imagined what becomes of illuſion and intereſt after theſe interruptions, on which account, it is not uncommon to ſee, after the Tonadilla is finiſhed, the audience diminiſh and become reduced to the few who are unacquainted with the principal piece, or whoſe curioſity is ſtrong enough to make them wait

wait to ſee the unravelling. From what has been ſaid, it may be judged that the Spaniards feel but few lively, ſtrong or contrived emotions, which in other countries are the delight of the lovers of the dramatic art. The Saynetes and Tonadillas are frequently in Spain what are moſt attractive in theſe ſtrange medleys, and it muſt be confeſſed the auditor may be ſatisfied with them when he goes to the theatre to relax, and not agreeably to employ, his mind. After a ſhort reſidence in Spain, it is eaſy to conceive the attraction which the Saynetes and Tonadillas may have for the people of the country. Manners, dreſs, adventures and muſic; all are national; beſides, there are frequently preſented in theſe little pieces two ſpecies of beings peculiar to Spain, and whoſe manners and expreſſions ought to be held in contempt; but which, on the contrary, are the objects of much mirth and pleaſantry, and ſometimes of imitation. Theſe are the *Majos* and the *Majas* on the

the one part, and the *Gitanos* and *Gitanas* on the other.

The *Majos* are beaux of the lower claſs, or rather bullies, whoſe grave and frigid pompoſity is announced by their whole exterior. They have an accent, habit and geſture peculiar to themſelves. Their countenance, half concealed under a brown ſtuff bonnet, called *Montera*, bears the character of threatening ſeverity, or of wrath, which ſeems to brave perſons the moſt proper to awe them into reſpect, and which is not ſoftened even in the preſence of their miſtreſs. The officers of juſtice ſcarcely dare attack them. The women, intimidated by their terrible aſpect, ſeem to wait with reſignation the ſoft caprice of theſe petty ſultans. If they are provoked by any freedoms, a geſture of impatience, a menacing look, ſometimes a long rapier or a poniard concealed under their wide cloak, announce that they cannot permit familiarity with impunity. The *Majas*, on their parts, rival theſe caprices

as

as much as their feeble means will permit; they ſeem to make a ſtudy of effrontery. The licentiouſneſs of their manners appears in their attitudes, actions, and expreſſions; and when lewdneſs in their perſons is cloathed with every wanton form, all the epithets which admiration can inſpire are laviſhed upon them. This is the diſagreeable ſide of the picture. But if the ſpectator goes with a diſpoſition, not very ſcrupulous, to the repreſentation in which the *Majas* figure; when he becomes familiarized to manners very little conformable to the virtues of the ſex, and the means of inſpiring ours with favourable ſentiments, he ſees in each of them the moſt ſeducing prieſteſs that ever preſided at the altars of Venus. Their impudent affectation is no more than a poignant allurement, which introduces into the ſenſes a delirium that the wiſeſt can ſcarcely guard againſt, and which, if it inſpire not love, at leaſt promiſes much pleaſure.

The

The moſt indulgent perſons will, however, be diſpleaſed that the Majos and Majas are thus received upon the theatre, and preſerve their allurements even in the circles of good company. In moſt countries the inferior claſſes think it an honour to ape their ſuperiors; in Spain it is the contrary, in many reſpects. There are, among both ſexes, perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, who ſeek their models among the heroes of the populace, who imitate their dreſs, manners, and accent, and are flattered when it is ſaid of them, *He is very like a Majo.—One would take her for a Maja.* This is, indeed, renouncing the nobility of one of the ſexes, and the decency which conſtitutes the principal charm of the other.

The *Gitanos* and *Gitanas*, ſtill more dangerous than the Majos and Majas, might be the objects of the ſame reflections. They are, in fact, a kind of gipſies who run about the country, lead a diſſolute life, tell fortunes, exerciſe all

all kinds of ſuſpicious profeſſions, have among themſelves a language, particular ſigns, and the appearance of dexterous knaves who prey upon the innocent. This claſs of vagabonds, of which ſociety ought to be purged, has hitherto been tolerated *; and characters are given to them upon the ſtage, amuſing by their originality and their reſemblance to the models of which they are the copies; but their effect renders vice familiar by concealing its deformity under a gay exterior. They are, if I may ſo ſay, the ſhepherds of the Spaniſh ſtage, certainly leſs inſipid, but at the ſame time leſs innocent than thoſe of ours. Their tricks, plots, and amo-

* Two years ago, the king, in conſequence of repreſentations from the council of Caſtile, which conſtantly watches over the manners of the country, ordered a kind of edict to be publiſhed, which relates to this wandering race, and forbids the Gitanos from living in troops and in places difficult of acceſs, and from continuing their name, language and ſigns, and, beſides, offers them the means of becoming uſeful and reſpectful citizens.

rous

rous intrigues, ſuited to their manners, are the ſubjects of ſeveral ſaynetes and tonadillas, and probably ſerve as leſſons to ſome of the ſpectators.

It appears to me that the Spaniards, more than other nations, have loſt ſight of the influence the theatre might have upon public morals. By confining the functions of Thalia to her motto, not perfectly applicable in my opinion *(Caſtigat ridendo mores)* they are reduced to the correcting of ſome ridiculous abſurdities, by amuſing and intereſting a choſen part of the nation. Comedy, I think, might have a more uſeful and extended purpoſe; and notwithſtanding the authority of our beſt pieces, and the cenſures of the critics, it inclines to this in France. If the aim of the comic muſe ſhould be, indeed, the improvement of morals, why does not ſhe more frequently preſent us models of virtue, more within our reach and eaſier of imitation than thoſe of our tragedies? If patriotiſm, the love of glory,

heroic virtues and philoſophy of an order ſuperior to the ordinary claſſes penetrate our minds at the repreſentation of one of our beſt tragedies, why ſhould not they be ſoftened, warmed and improved by the affecting repreſentation of virtues more frequently in uſe? and who would then dare to ſay, that comedy was not one of the moſt ſucceſsful teachers of morality? Do not we too frequently ſee how ſucceſsfully vice borrows the maſk of Thalia? Why ſhould it not then be employed in the ſervice of virtue? The Spaniards, our predeceſſors if not our maſters, our guides if not our models, in the drama, have been leſs timid than we. They have, in their ancient comedies, powerful examples of every virtue which can be recommended to a people; loyalty, firmneſs, juſtice and beneficence. Whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, and notwithſtanding the extravagance which ſerves as a canvaſs to the poet, and the exaggeration of the features of the picture he gives, people leave theſe repreſen-

ſentations more diſpoſed to the exerciſe of thoſe virtues, than they would be after the performance of the beſt pieces entirely comic, in which the poet confines himſelf to placing a well-drawn character in different ſituations, and whence leſſons of a vicious tendency and malignity are rather learned than thoſe of goodneſs. I compare not the talents neceſſary to excel in either kind of writing; I ſpeak of their moral effect only, and am free to ſay, that in this point of view, it is to be regretted that governments take not more effectual means to recall comedy to the aid of virtue; whereas, on the contrary, they have ſuffered it to ridicule what ought to be held in the higheſt reſpect.

In their modern productions, equally irregular and immoral, the Spaniards have gone greater lengths than we have. Not only the moſt generally received propriety is ſacrificed in them, but they contain a deſcription of every kind of vice and debauchery, without

exciting the horror they ſhould inſpire. The conſpiracies of a ſon againſt a father, the brutality of huſbands, the infidelity of wives, even the plottings of malefactors who eſcape puniſhment, all are hazarded by the authors, ſuffered by the police, and well received by the public. The conſequences of this tolerance are, however, important, particularly in Spain, where the theatre is frequented by every claſs of citizens, and may infect, with the venom diſtilled there, the higher as well as lower ranks of ſubjects. The populace ſeems to be the principal object the authors and actors have in view; and the greater number of frequenters of the theatres are of that deſcription. Their fancies muſt be pleaſed, and their perverſe taſtes flattered; and the tumultuous manner in which they expreſs their coarſe ſenſations, intirely drowns the leſs noiſy approbation of the more enlightened part of the audience; perhaps the only example of the kind in a government of the nature of thoſe in which the common people are but little

little conſidered, and faſhioned to the yoke of a power which may almoſt be ſtiled arbitrary.

We ſhould be naturally led to ſuppoſe a theatre, under ſo little reſtraint, muſt prevent perſons, who by their age and profeſſions are more particularly obliged to preſerve an appearance of decency, from frequenting it; for which reaſon a ſtranger is not a little aſtoniſhed to ſee at theſe repreſentations, in which modeſty and morality are ſo often inſulted, not only young perſons of exterior modeſty, but eccleſiaſtics, whoſe grave countenance and dreſs, auſtere in its ſimplicity, might be expected to impoſe an awe upon licentiouſneſs. A wiſe pagan formerly left the theatre of Rome, for fear of authorizing, by his preſence, the diſorders there deſcribed in colours at which his virtue was offended. Spaniſh prieſts, intolerant in the moſt trifling objects, are not ſo ſcrupulons. If their virtue be above ſcandal, ought not they to fear the effect of an example, which, in a country where they have ſo much in-

fluence, muſt become authority? But each country has its cuſtoms and incoherences. In other nations eccleſiaſtics never appear in prophane theatres, and yet in other places permit themſelves the greateſt irregularities.

To reform the Spaniſh theatre, a concurrence of circumſtances, which are ſtill wanting to that part of adminiſtration, would be neceſſary. The ſovereign who, in this reſpect as well as in ſo many others, might have the greateſt influence, is totally indifferent about theatrical amuſements. The theatre of Saragoſſa having been burned a few years ago, the director of the king's conſcience, who ſeemingly had forgotten that fire from heaven had deſtroyed more than one temple, wiſhed to repreſent that accident as a proof of divine wrath. The inhabitants at Saragoſſa ſtrove to appeaſe the anger of heaven by baniſhing from their city all profane ſpectacles. Had the king's confeſſor been liſtened to, the ſame ſentence would have been pronounced againſt

againſt all that were in the kingdom. The good ſenſe of the king protected them againſt the blind zeal of the director; he thought it ſufficient to have ſhut up thoſe of Buen Retiro and his other palaces: he continued to tolerate the reſt: this was all his goodneſs permitted him to do. The particular management of theſe amuſements eſcapes his obſervation. His miniſters, who are moſtly near his perſon, cannot give them much of their attention.

At Madrid, the police of the theatre is divided between the corregidor, the city magiſtracy, and the alcaldes de corte; but the limits of their juriſdiction are ill defined; and from this uncertain authority reſult the diſorders which every one ſees, and nobody has the power of ſuppreſſing. The pieces, the admiſſion of which is accompanied with many difficulties and formalities, eſcape from a ſimilar reaſon the animadverſion of their examiners.

Before they are permitted to be performed, they have to paſs through the hands of three or four cenſors. It might be ſuppoſed that this exceſs of precaution would baniſh from theſe compoſitions every thing which can offend religion or decency Each cenſor confides in the care and attention of his aſſociate. A ſuperficial examination does not permit them either to foreſee the ſcandal which ſeveral expreſſions, ſometimes unintelligible to them, may produce; or that which may reſult from certain ſcenes with the theatrical effect of which they are unacquainted; and the ſenſible part of the audience is aſtoniſhed at ſeeing, after ſo many precautions, the ſtage diſgraced by immoral pieces, at which decency and taſte are equally ſhocked. The cenſors, beſides, are frequently infected with the general contagion; they fear but little the conſequences of an abuſe, the effects of which are ſlow and unperceived by thoſe who conſider only the preſent moment. Courage would be neceſſary to take ſuddenly from the people

the

the favourite objects of their affection, and not to yield to the repreſentations of the comedians whoſe receipts would ſuffer ſome diminution, about which ſcruples might ariſe. Reformation is thus retarded by weakneſs, exceſs of caution, and becauſe no perſon ſufficiently concerns himſelf in the matter, to withſtand the clamours of the actors and the populace.

There have been in the preſent reign, however, examples of bold reforms, which cannot be too ſoon repeated to compleat the poliſhing of the Spaniſh nation. Government has entirely aboliſhed the *Autos Sacramentales*, in which angels, ſaints and virtues, perſonified, were exhibited, to the ſcandal of religion and common ſenſe; ridiculous pieces, in which Calderon had diſplayed all the extravagance of his imagination. The repreſentation of ſeveral other pieces is alſo ſuppreſſed. Theſe were in the claſs of ordinary comedies, and contained ſcenes not leſs ſcandalous

in

in throwing ridicule upon religion; ſuch were *Los Zelos de San Joſef*, *La Princeſa Ramera*, *Virgin y Martyr*, &c. Dramas, in which the ſimplicity of an earlier age, no doubt, found edification, while the progreſs of knowledge and modern depravity finds in them nothing but impiety or indecency. While I was at Madid, this prohibition was extended to other compoſitions of the ſame kind, which had been protected, nobody knows how, until the preſent age. Theſe were *Cain de Catalunna*, in which the enmity between two brothers, and the murder of the youngeſt were deſcribed in the manner and expreſſions found in the Bible, in the hiſtory of the Death of Abel; and *El Diablo predicador* (the Devil turned preacher) a comedy, which I ſaw ſeveral times repreſented, and of which the author of Eſſays upon Spain has given a good abſtract. The devil condemned by the Almighty to take the frock in a convent of Franciſcans, preaches there charity, performs miracles, torments the monks by his ſeverity,

verity, frightens them by his ſudden appearance when they imagine him at a great diſtance, and produces ſcenes really comic, to which nothing but another mode of introducing them could have been deſired. The preſent adminiſtration is too wiſe not to purſue this plan of reform, and not inſenſibly to inſpire the Spaniards with a more rational taſte.

Beſides the correction of the moral defect of the theatre, another revolution in the mechanical part remains to be effected. This has been begun in the preſent reign, by the attention of ſome perſons of underſtanding. The decorations are better underſtood, and the dreſſes more in character than formerly. The Spaniſh theatre had weaker beginnings than ours, and, in ſome places, preſerves the forms of its infancy. Two parallel curtains, facing the ſpectators, compoſed the whole mechaniſm of the theatre, and this ſimplicity was ſtill found in ſome theatres which I entered in Spain. The prompter, for want of a pro-

a proper ſituation, and finding no room between the ſide ſcenes, ſtands behind the ſecond curtain, his candle in one hand and the book in the other, and runs acroſs the ſtage to aſſiſt the actor who is in want of his aid; this, by the tranſparency of the curtain, is ſeen by all the ſpectators, and adds to their amuſement. But in well-contrived theatres, as thoſe of Madrid, and other great cities, the ſide-ſcenes, green-room, changes of decoration, and place of the prompter reſemble our own. A ſtranger is, however, ſurprized to hear the prompter recite all the parts almoſt as loud as the actors, and is tempted to requeſt the latter to be ſilent, to let him, who ſo well ſupplies the places of them all, ſpeak alone.

The Spaniſh theatres are divided into five parts; the *Apoſentos*, or two ranges of boxes, of which the upper part of the edifice conſiſts. The *Cazuela*, a kind of amphitheatre at the bottom, into which none but women, covered with their veils,

veils, are admitted, and who might be taken for a company of nuns, were it poſſible for the mind to be ſo abſent as to confound things ſacred with profane. *Las Gradas*, another amphitheatre under the boxes on each ſide of the theatre, and where perſons who love to be at their eaſe are placed. The *Patio*, which anſwers to the parterre or pit, but for the moſt part contains the meaneſt of the people, who ſufficiently diſplay their vulgarity, ignorance, and rags. The *Luneta* which correſponds with the French parquet *, and receives much the ſame company. The actors often apoſtrophize theſe five claſſes of ſpectators, under the name of *Moſqueteros*, and laviſh upon them all the inſipid epithets which they think likely to gain their ſuffrages. Theſe flatteries are not ſpared upon the *Patio*, which is always noiſy, and as difficult as if it had a right to be ſo. When we obſerve the attention the come-

* An encloſed place between the pit and the orcheſtra in the French theatre.

dians

dians pay to this part of the audience, we cannot but recollect the Indians worſhipping the devil, or the honey cake thrown by the Sibyl into the jaws of Cerberus.

Theſe inſipid homages are rendered after every piece to the audience in general, and are degrading to the comedians, who are not treated with leſs rigour, when they have the misfortune to diſpleaſe the public. At Madrid they are divided into two theatres, that of *De la Cruz*, and that of *Du Principe*, who are joined in one intereſt, but ſeparated by vanity. The partiſans of the former are diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *Polacos* (Poliſh) and thoſe of the latter by that of *Chorizos* (Sauſages) odd names, the etymology of which is a matter of no importance, but which ſerve to rally the ſpirit of party, and are motives of emulation to the actors of the two theatres, much leſs to improve their talents than to increaſe their audience, and conſequently their revenues. Each theatre has

has for manager one of the comedians, who every year, at the approach of Eaſter, diſſolves and recompoſes his company according to his fancy. Thoſe whoſe talents are approved of by the public, then treat with both managers, and engage with him who has moſt cunning or generoſity. It may be ſuppoſed the *Graciosos* are not forgotten in this periodical arrangement.

Of theſe there are two principal ones at Madrid, who, excepting a little exaggeration, would be well received as *valets* upon every other theatre. The two managers agree to take each of them one, as well as to divide the principal actors, leaſt there ſhould be in their companies too great an inequality, by which they would both ſuffer. Beſide theſe, they have each of them performers of both ſexes, whoſe talents are much eſteemed by the public; but they are of a nature more proper for parade, than for the real theatre of Thalia. All thoſe who ſtudy nature, who add cheerfulneſs to the graces, the force of ſentiment

ſentiment to nobleneſs of expreſſion; and render the art of declamation the ſiſter and rival of the fine arts, are little known in Spain. The comedians of that kingdom are confined to the ſervile imitation of the models before their eyes, in their dreſs, manners and inflections of voice. They know not how to create imaginary but yet poſſible characters, and repreſent princes as haughty without being boiſterous, or lovers as impaſſioned without loſing ſight of decency; in which, declamation coſts not the lungs continual and monotonous efforts, but is varied according to the affections of the mind, in which geſtures, modified by the ſame cauſes, are varied and expreſſive, without being leſs noble or true, and nature embelliſhed without being diſguiſed. Inſtead of effecting this, upon which the improvement of the art depends, the Spaniſh comedians, once removed from objects within their reach, forget every rule, exaggerate and disfigure every thing, and inſtead of œconomiſing their ſtrength to obtain an end, exhauſt themſelves

ſelves in going beyond it. Their angry women become furies, their heroes braggadocios, their conſpirators vile malefactors, and their tyrants mere butchers. If they have ſomething gallant to ſay, their manner and tone of voice are moſt inſipid. They roar inſtead of ſobbing; their ſighs fatigue and ſometimes terrify the audience, but are never moving. Scenes which might be pathetic, either become unintereſting or excite laughter. The geſtures are well ſuited to the declamation. Moſt of them are forced and improper, and all are confined within a narrow circle. Invented by folly, they are conſecrated by cuſtom, from which no actor dares to depart. They are undoubtedly far different from thoſe of Clairon, le Kain, Garrick and other modern actors and actreſſes who might be mentioned. For which reaſons, comedians in Spain, notwithſtanding the indulgence with which prejudice and even religion treat their profeſſion, are conſidered as mercenaries, admitted into ſociety as jugglers who amuſe for a

moment, and are ſent away after being paid; whilſt, in other countries, where civil and religious prejudices are more unfavourable to them, the juſt admiration they inſpire raiſes them to the level of great artiſts, and almoſt to that of men of genius. This proves public opinion not to be always inflexible in its deciſions, and that this tyrant which reigns over every thing is, in turn, ſubjected by a certain degree of ſucceſs.

Since the death of Ferdinand VI. whoſe ſplendid court had an Italian theatre which rivalled the firſt of thoſe in Italy, there has been no theatre in Spain but a national one. Charles III. however, has lately permitted in the capital an Italian comic opera which is much frequented; and ſtill more recently an attempt has been made to introduce there French comedy. Subſcriptions were opened to this effect, but the devotees cabaled; they were more ſcandalized at the Miſanthrope and Athaliah than at the indecencies of their Saynetes.

The

The French dramatic pieces, ſaid they, are filled with maxims of toleration; they breathe too much modern philoſophy. They enumerate thirteen heretical aſſertions in the ſingle piece of Pygmalion. The general hoſpital alſo, a part of the revenues of which ariſe from the contributions of the two Spaniſh theatres, expreſſed its fears leaſt its receipt ſhould be diminiſhed. The monarch yielded to this double claim of ſcruple and charity; and the Thalia of France, who already ſaw the doors of the Spaniſh theatre open to receive her, was thruſt from them, perhaps, for a long time.

I ſhall conclude what I had to ſay of my long reſidence at Madrid with this impartial deſcription of the theatre of Spain, in which the Spaniards themſelves cannot but acquieſce, and ſhall next conduct my reader to the only royal manſion of which I have not yet ſpoken; that of Aranjuez, where the court paſſes three months in the year;

from the Monday after Easter week to the end of the month of June.

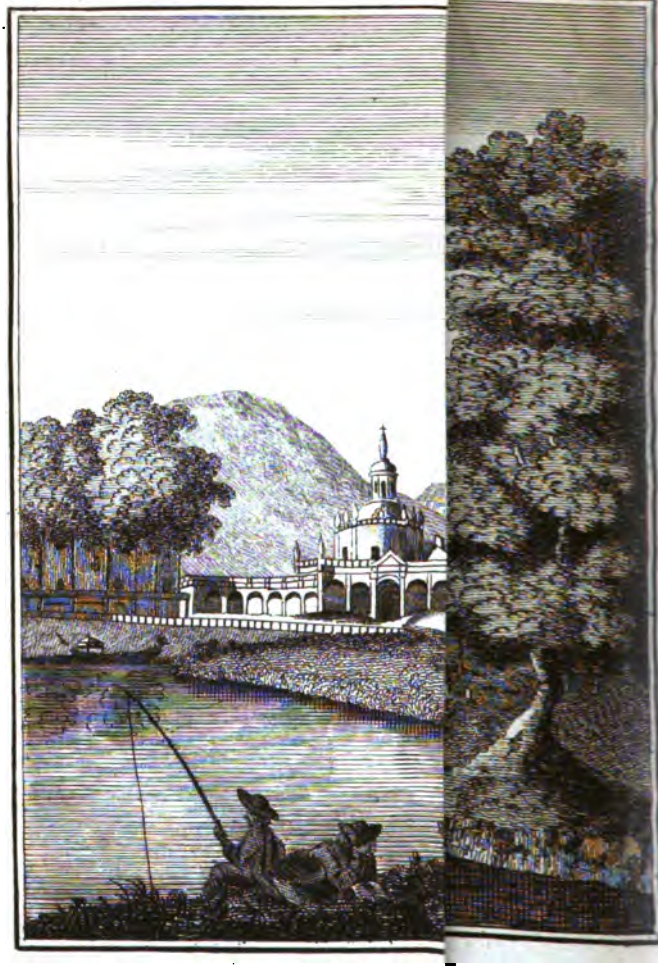
The road from Madrid to Aranjuez is one of the fineſt in Europe. It croſſes the famous bridge of Toledo, built by Philip II. and, which it has been ſaid, wanted only a river. The bridge has nothing remarkable except its length and breadth; it is beſides a maſſive ſtructure, and the parapets are loaded with ill-choſen ornaments. When the Manzanares is very low, which is moſt commonly the caſe, this little river is fordable, and the bridge avoided, which cuts off a quarter of a league in croſſing the fine part of the environs of Madrid called *las Delicias*, a walk conſiſting of two divergent alleys which terminate at the canal of Manzanares.

This canal was begun under the adminiſtration of M. de Grimaldi, and was to join the Manzanares at the Tagus. Scarcely were three leagues of it finiſhed when a want of capital and induſtry ſuf-

ſuſpended the works. The only advantage derived from it is the produce of a few mills; and this is abſorbed in the repair of bridges, ſluices, and the ſalaries of the perſons employed. For in Spain, as in other countries, ſcarcely is an eſtabliſhment begun before the expences of ſupporting it are as conſiderable as if it were compleated. But the activity given to all the branches of adminiſtration will ſoon have its effect upon the canal of Manzanares. The mills upon it are already uſeful to the undertakings of the bank, charged with victualling the army, and the canal itſelf will in a ſhort time become a part of that which, as we have already obſerved, is to croſs all the interior part of Spain. The Manzanares is fordable a little beyond the bridge of Toledo, and on the other ſide begins the fine road of Aranjuez, whence are ſeen ſome groups of olive trees which announce to the traveller that he approaches their native ſoil, la Mancha, the kingdom of Valencia, and Andaluſia. After having journeyed

neyed ſix leagues, on a narrow and even road, you deſcend by a ſpiral declivity to the charming valley of Aranjuez.

The Xarama, which you croſs over a very fine ſtone bridge, runs at the foot of the hills, by which the river is formed, to the north. As ſoon as you arrive in this valley, the dry and naked plains of Caſtile diſappear, and are ſucceeded by a richer ſoil, where you travel in the ſhade, ſerenaded by the noiſe of caſcades and the murmur of rivulets. The meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the paſtures diſplay the moſt lively and variegated colours. Vegetation appears in all its richneſs, and proclaims a neighbouring river which, with its beneficent waters, fertiliſes and vivifies the landſcape. The Tagus, which enters the valley at the eaſt end, runs in meanders for two leagues, and, after having reflected the images of the moſt beautiful plantations, joins the Xarama.



The learned find in this junction the etymology of the name of Aranjuez. They tell us the ancients erected temples at the confluence of rivers; that there was one in honour of Jupiter at that of the Tagus and Xarama; and that thence is derived the name *Aram-Jovis*, whence *Aranjuez* by corruption. However ancient the name may be the embellishments of Aranjuez are modern.

The first Spanish monarch who resided there for a considerable length of time was Charles V. He began to build the palace his successors have inhabited, and to which Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. have each added a wing. In this new form, it is still less a royal mansion than a very agreeable country-house most delightfully situated, where art has done nothing more than make an advantageous use of the advances of nature. The Tagus which runs in a right line to the eastern front, glides by the parterre, and forms almost under the windows an artificial cascade.

A ſmall arm of the river eſcapes from the caſcade, and ſo cloſely waſhes the walls of the palace, that from the terrace the monarch may take the diverſion of fiſhing. This arm afterwards rejoins the river, and thus forms a pleaſant iſland, which is a vaſt garden of an irregular form, in which ſhade and freſh air are conſtantly found. In every ſeaſon the warblings of birds, added to the murmurs of the waters of the Tagus, and of thoſe which are ſpouted from the ſeveral fountains ſimply decorated, form a concert much leſs fatiguing to the mind than the languid and unvarying pleaſures which magnificence leads in its train. While wandering amid the groves and thickets, or the labyrinth of the winding walks, and enjoying the luxury and calm of Nature, we imagine ourſelves in the midſt of rural ſolitude, and forget the vicinity of the court, the perplexity of intrigue, and the ſolicitudes of ambition. If we approach the palace, filled with the pleaſing ideas inſpired by the aſylum we have quitted,

quitted, we cannot but reflect on the viciſſitude of human affairs. This, we exclaim, is the peaceful retreat of a monarch, whoſe laws are obeyed beyond the immenſe ocean to the extremities of the Andes, and the moſt diſtant iſlands of the Indian Archipelago. In this palace was it that Charles V. and Philip II. agitated Europe by their turbulent politics. Hence was the league which diſputed the crown of France with the prince called to it by birthright and the wiſhes of his people, ſupported by the court of Madrid. At preſent a deſcendant of Henry IV. reigns there in peace; he poſſeſſes a throne whence the moſt dangerous enemies of his houſe have diſappeared. He enlarges and embelliſhes their abode. In fact, Charles V. and Philip II. would find ſome difficulty in recognizing Aranjuez, which by the attention and improvements of the two laſt kings has been rendered one of the moſt pleaſing palaces in Europe.

The

The principal alleys, that eſpecially of the *Calle de la Reyna*, which is the favourite walk of the court, were planted long before their time. The height of the trees, their enormous trunks and thick foliage, atteſt their antiquity and the fertility of the ſoil in which they have flouriſhed for ſeveral centuries. But theſe are not the only ornaments of the valley of Aranjuez. Under Ferdinand VI. this palace conſiſted of little elſe than the caſtle. A few poor houſes ſcattered over uneven and rugged ground at ſome diſtance from the royal habitation, ſerved to lodge ambaſſadors and the nobles and gentry who followed the court. Theſe huts have given place to regular, though not magnificent, buildings. The ſtreets are ſtreight and wide, perhaps too wide for the height of the houſes and the heat of the climate. The plan, after which the new village of Aranjuez was built, was given by the marquis of Grimaldi, who, before he became firſt miniſter to his Catholic majeſty, had reſided at the Hague as his repreſentative.

tative. He had there conceived the idea of forming in the centre of Caſtile a kind of Dutch village. His plan was accepted. The principal ſtreets of Aranjuez are ſhaded by two double rows of trees, between which runs a river that keeps them continually freſh.

The village is ſeparated from the caſtle by a large, but irregular ſquare, decorated with a fountain. To croſs the ſquare in the hot ſeaſon, a part of which the court paſſes at Aranjuez, was a painful taſk, from which the beneficent magnificence of the ſovereign has exempted thoſe by whom he is approached. From one of the ſtreets of Aranjuez there runs a covered portico, which is continued to the buildings adjoining to the palace.

It would require too much time to conduct the reader through all the fine plantations of Aranjuez; I ſhall ſpeak only of the principal. Arriving from Madrid we croſs a circular ſpace called

Las

Las doce calles, from twelve allies which there terminate. One of the allies leads to the entrance of *Las Huertas*, a large enclosure, in which we cannot but admire the aſtoniſhing fertility of the ſoil of Aranjuez. All kinds of fruit trees, flowers, and vegetables luxuriantly flouriſh beneath the ſhade of trees whoſe tops are ſometimes loſt in the clouds. If the traveller wiſhes to ſee more rich cultivation, and on a larger ſcale, he muſt take the road for Toledo and croſs the *Campo Flamenco*, which undoubtedly takes its name from the reſemblance it bears to the fine fields of Flanders. The *Cortijo* is alſo worthy of his particular attention. This is a large encloſure ſhut in on the ſide to the north by hills, and on the other by a latticed barrier, within which the ſoil, cultivated with particular care, repays with intereſt the labours of the huſbandman, and the attention of the king, who has cauſed it to be planted with vine-ſuckers, brought from different parts of his kingdom.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the *Huerta de Valentia* preſents the traveller with various new and ſucceſsful modes of cultivation, and, as it were, a foretaſte of that kingdom. Beſides fields of flax, vineyards, and artificial meadows, there are mulberry plantations, and a building conſecrated to the produce of the precious inſect which feeds upon their leaves. But the *Calle de la Reyna*, which, If I may ſo ſpeak, forms the angle of the plantations of Aranjuet, is that which is moſt known and remarkable in them. Its direction, for about half a league, is from eaſt to weſt, and its termination at the foot of a ſtone bridge lately built over the Tagus. It is renewed on the other ſide, continues to much the ſame diſtance, and again terminates by a bridge over the ſame river, the windings of which can only be diſcovered by the imagination, while it wanders through a valley ſhaded with groves of high trees, which at intervals conceal its courſe. Behind one of theſe thick curtains is a cafcade heard at a great diſtance, the noiſe

At the foot of theſe hills are ſtables of breeding mares, belonging to the king of Spain, and in which the breed of Spaniſh horſes is ſtill preſerved in all its ancient beauty. The building has for inſcription, *Vento gravidas ex prole putaris. By their race or breed you would imagine them prolific by the winds:* the ſwiftneſs of the horſes bred here juſtifies the inſcription; but they are excluſively reſerved to the ſervice of the king and his family. Leaving this building to the left, you enter large walks which terminate at the *Calle de la Reyna.*

The high trees, of which I have ſpoken, are not the only ornaments of this alley. It is edged on both ſides with tufted copſes which render its regularity more agreeable. Here the numerous herds of deer which furniſh amuſement for the royal family, and, as at St. Ildefonſo, ſeem conſcious they have obtained a ſecurity that Nature appeared to have denied them, bound and run.

They

They are ſeen peaceably feeding by the ſide of the great walk, and when they fly at the approach of any perſon, they ſeem leſs under the influence of their natural timidity than deſirous to diſplay their agility.

But the garden of the *Primavera*, or of the ſpring, is the greateſt ornament of the *Calle de la Reyna*, at the ſame time that it delightfully perfumes the air during the ſeaſon of which it bears the name. It extends, for the ſpace of a mile, along one of the ſides, and is ſeparated from it by a low wall upon which is a lattice barrier. The fertility of the ſoil of the valley appears in all its richneſs in this garden. The greateſt part of it is dedicated to uſeful cultivation. Pomona and Flora reign jointly, and mutually preſent each other their charms. Fruits and flowers flouriſh there in perfection. The groves oppoſe their hoſpitable ſhades to the noontide heat. Copſes of odoriferous ſhrubs perfume the morning air, and the balmy vapours

they exhale, fall at ſun-ſet to add to the charms of the evening walk.

When I arrived in Spain, all the ground between the incloſure of the garden and the primitive banks of the Tagus, was uncultivated. The prince of Aſturias, by his taſte and attention, converted this into one of the moſt pleaſing parts of the valley. He ordered ſome uſeleſs trees, which ſhaded this fertile ſoil, to be cut down; graſs plats, ſhrubberies and parterres have ſucceeded them, and paths wind acroſs this new treaſure of vegetation. From one ſpring to another a vaſt garden was produced, infinitely varied in its form as well as productions, which bears the name of its projector.

A little dock-yard is contrived within its incloſure, and communicates by an eaſy deſcent with the Tagus. In this yard are carried on the works of a navy in miniature, which has its builders, ſailors, and veſſels. Farther on was a kind

kind of port, defended by a battery proportioned to the place. A few handſome gondolas are anchored under its protection, and ſerve for the recreations of the younger branches of the royal family. There are likewiſe little frigates, elegantly decorated, the guns of which reply to the artillery of the port. The noiſe of their cannon, the huzzas of the ſailors, and the diſplay of the flags and ſtreamers, almoſt induce the ſpectators to believe they are contemplating the conteſts of Mars and Neptune. Happy would men be, did they but content themſelves with repreſentations only, and had not a thirſt after fame and riches converted into means of deſtruction the properties of elements which Nature, perhaps, had deſigned but for their pleaſures! Thoſe of the court of Spain at Aranjuez are not confined to the amuſements afforded by a river, the banks of which preſent the moſt enchanting landſcapes, whilſt the peaceful ſtream never deviates from its courſe but to

fertilize the adjacent ſoil *. The reſidence of Aranjuez favours all the innocent diverſions of the country; walks are no where more varied; whether with a book in your hand you wander in the ſhrubberies, or paſs through the long alleys on horſeback or in a carriage, you may ſecurely indulge in meditation and reverie.

The deer there forget their timidity, and even the wild boars are leſs ferocious. They run in the ſtreets as familiarly as domeſtic animals. The firſt time I quitted the inn, after my arrival at Aranjuez, I was obliged to make my way with my cane through a herd of wild boars, who blocked up my paſſage. Some of them, ſtill more familiar, enter the houſes, and there diſpute with the

* Since this work was finiſhed, I have learned that the Tagus quitted its bed at Aranjuez, broke down the cauſeway which ſheltered the new gardens of the prince from its overflowings, and almoſt deſtroyed the new cultivation which the author of the plan had already found correſpond ſo well with his expectation.

dogs

dogs the ſpoils of the kitchen. At Pardo they carry their aſſurance ſtill farther; at certain hours, to which they are very exact, they run from the neighbouring foreſt to receive food from the hands of the domeſtics of the palace.

The wild boars are not the only animals naturalized at Aranjuez. The buffalos, brought thither from Naples, have taken the place of the oxen, as working cattle. A part of their labours were performed by camels, which could not long reſiſt the baneful influence of a foreign climate. At the ſame time two zebras grazed in a meadow near the high road, as alſo two guanacos, which ſeemed as perfectly at their eaſe as in their own country, whilſt an elephant calmly moved his huge body without being in the leaſt diſcompoſed by the crowds of people, whom curioſity brought about him. It is, perhaps, in this manner that ſovereigns ſhould openly expoſe all the foreign animals which they crowd together in their menageries. Theſe

magnificent priſons accuſe man of tyranny without proving his power, and the beaſts which there roar in their chains, would, perhaps, lay aſide their ferocity on recovering their liberty. But man is every where too much inclined to abuſe his power; and rather chuſes to reign over furious ſlaves than govern happy ſubjects.

The animals which more eſpecially contribute to the embelliſhment of Aranjuez are horſes. They there peculiarly diſplay all the beauty of their motions and their ſpeed. The king ſometimes brings thither his magnificent ſets with which his ſtuds furniſh him, and his children enjoy, without danger, all the pleaſure of horſemanſhip.

Formerly the *Calle de la Reyna* was the courſe where horſes from Barbary diſplayed their ſwiftneſs, and each had his partiſans among the courtiers, who intereſted themſelves by wagers in his ſucceſs.

A few

A few years ſince the prince of Aſturias ſubſtituted to theſe races a more reaſonable and uſeful amuſement. It is called the *Parejas*, and takes place a few days before the departure of the court from Aranjuez; it has not been interrupted for twenty years, except by the war which took from the court a great part of thoſe whom his majeſty admitted to partake of it. Theſe form, with the prince and his two brothers, a ſquadron of four in front and twelve deep. Each file is directed by one of the three princes, aſſiſted by one of the principal perſons of the court. The forty-eight cavaliers are all cloathed and accoutred in the ancient Spaniſh manner, but in different colours according to the file they belong. The uniform gives to the whole a military and antique air, which carries back the actors to the age of their anceſtors, and gives them that intereſting appearance which the image of things paſt generally wears. They practice a conſiderable time for the exhibition, which is given imme-

diately before the court departs from Aranjuez, and by this means have frequent opportunities of exerciſing the docility and elegant paces of their horſes, the fineſt the modern ſtuds of Spain produce. When, at length, the cavaliers and their horſes are well exerciſed in the parts they are to perform, the firſt day of repreſentation is fixed *. The theatre is a large ſquare court before the caſtle. The brilliant ſquadron arrives there in a column, to the ſound of trumpets and kettle-drums, preceded by running footmen, and led horſes richly capariſoned. They ſtop before the king's balcony and ſalute him. Afterwards pace round the ſquare, and, arrived in the preſence of his majeſty, fall into a gallop and begin their evolutions. Theſe are figures which cannot be better compared than to our *contre danſes*. The four files, under the conduct of

* There are commonly three; the king is only ſeen at the firſt; but the princeſs of Aſturia honours them all with her preſence.

their

their directors, withdraw from and approach each other by turns; ſometimes following the figure of the ground, at others croſſing it diagonally, and deſcribing circles and ſpirals with ſuch time and preciſion as to delight both the eyes and ears of the ſpectators. However this ſpectacle, rather too unvaried, amuſes not the mind; it is but a feeble repreſentation of the ancient tournaments, and makes thoſe feſtivals more regretted where under the eyes of ſovereigns, and the beauties of the age, the knights, obeyed the double impulſe of love and fame, and where the ſuffrages of thoſe who reigned over their hearts were an ineſtimable recompenſe for their courage and addreſs. Nothing leſs than the preſence of the monarch, and contributing to his pleaſures, could be ſufficient to give ſatisfaction to the actors in this modern dance of centaurs. At the expiration of twenty minutes, the ſquadron forms a column, and retires from the ſquare in the ſame order as it entered. After the exhibition there

is

is commonly another ball, with refreſhments; and for thoſe whoſe curioſity has been ſatisfied in preceding years, this acceſſary is well worth the principal. When the weather is fine the *Parejantes* (for ſo the *figurans* of the equeſtrian *contre danſe* are called) walk in their dreſſes in the gardens of the palace, and join the ſpectators. The ſubjects of Charles V. and thoſe of Charles III. ſeem then to be united; imagination approaches theſe two reigns, and compares with pleaſure the age of ſplendour in Spain with that of its regeneration.

Art ſeems to have left to Nature the care of embelliſhing Aranjuez. The palace and other edifices are of a pleaſing form, but without magnificence. The furniture of the apartments is leſs rich than elegant. The paintings are not ſo numerous as in other royal manſions. There are only a few portraits of the princes of the houſe of Bourbon and Braganza, and ſome Neapolitan paintings, in which Nature is imitated with more truth than

grace-

gracefulneſs. The new chapel of the caſtle is that part of it to which moſt attention has been paid in the conſtruction and ornaments. Sculpture and gilding are therein diſtributed with taſte, without profuſion, and a few pieces by Mengs contribute not a little to its decoration.

Aranjuez contains three churches; in one of which the connoiſſeur views with pleaſure a copy of Raphael's carrying of the croſs, of which I have ſpoken in the account of the palace of Madrid. It has for companion a crucifixion, by a modern painter named Ferro, the author of the copy. The moſt recently built church is that of the convent of Franciſcans, called Saint Paſchal, and was founded by the confeſſor to the king. I remarked, in the veſtibule of this convent, pious inſcriptions in the form of ſtanzas, which appeared to me of a ſingular kind. I could not reſiſt my inclination to copy and tranſlate them. The reader will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed

pleaſed at ſeeing the language of devotion in Spain when it means to ſpeak that of poetry. A penitent ſoul confeſſes its ſins to God, and comforts itſelf in its contrition by the following ſtanzas.

" Oh! leave me, my ſins, in God's name
" leave me! I have uſed you ſo much
" that you are unable to ſupport your-
" ſelves any longer; neither you nor
" myſelf can go farther: I have ſo ex-
" hauſted you, that to ſin to-morrow,
" I want deſire, as you want power to
" make me do it.

" Who would believe that thou thy-
" ſelf, my God, hadſt retarded my con-
" verſion? Thou haſt wronged thyſelf
" by thy patience in waiting for me;
" I could not perſuade myſelf (this be-
" tween ourſelves) that thou wert
" God; thou appeareſt to me too of-
" fended and too patient for a God.

" Thanks to thy cares, Oh my God,
" I am now converted. I yield to laſſi-
" tude

"tude if not to repentance: I have ſo "often followed the ways of vice, that "to adopt another manner of life, hav- "ing ſinned as much as it is poſſible to "do, at length, I ſin no longer.

"I have offended thee to ſo great a "degree that I thought, being unable "to do any thing with me, thou wouldſt "be forced to pardon me. Here only "is there ſtill mercy, the moſt immu- "table law of thy eternal throne; for "ſuch is my perverſity, that thou muſt "either not execute juſtice on me, or "increaſe the pains of hell."

This convent ſtands in the higheſt and moſt healthy ſituation of the valley; and hence the palace and plantations appear in the moſt agreeable point of proſpect. Some of the views of Aranjuez were taken from this elevation. They form a pleaſing collection, although but indifferently engraved. The king makes preſents of the ſets to ſuch ſtrangers of dif-

diſtinction as are deſirous of having them.

Since this collection appeared, the count of Florida Blanca, who has the ſuperintendency of the *ſitios* or royal manſions, has added, by new plantations, to the embelliſhments of Aranjuez. He has not, like his predeceſſors, an excluſive predilection for one of the four royal houſes at the expence of the others; his attention is equally divided among them all. It is, however, difficult to render that of Aranjuez healthy. As long as the temperature of the air is moderate, every thing about the palace charms the ſenſes, and the happineſs of exiſtence is perfectly enjoyed. Foreigners, who have travelled in many countries, have aſſured me that they knew no place in Europe where they would rather chuſe to paſs the fine ſeaſon of the year than at Aranjuez. But at the approach of the violent heats of ſummer, when the ſcorching air, ſhut in by the valley, is loaded with exhala-

tions

tions from a ſlow and muddy river, and with nitrous vapours drawn by the ſun from the hills between which the Tagus runs, this valley of Tempe becomes a pernicious abode, *ſufficient to ſend troops of ſouls to Acheron in a ſingle day.* The inhabitants withdraw from it, and ſeek, upon the neighbouring heights, particularly at Ocanna, a little city, two leagues from the valley, a more wholeſome air. Aranjuez, which during the month of May and the beginning of June, contains about ten thouſand inhabitants, and is the reſort of thoſe who wiſh either for health or pleaſure, becomes a deſert excluſively inhabited by wild boars and deer. Few perſons remain there, except thoſe who are attached to it either by profeſſion or poverty.

Let us now leave this charming palace, which I could wiſh to have inſpired my reader with a deſire of ſeeing; and ſince we have advanced almoſt ten leagues towards the kingdom of Valencia,

cia, let us proceed to viſit the terreſtrial paradiſe of Spain.

I undertook a journey to it, with a friend, at the end of April 1783, conſequently, in the moſt favourable ſeaſon. We ſet out from Aranjuez, and after having followed the *Calle de la Reyna*, turned to the left, and bid adieu to the ſhade, verdure and beauties of the environs. During the firſt ſeven leagues we ſeveral times approached the Tagus, but its naked and uninhabited banks offered not a ſingle pleaſing proſpect.

A hamlet by the ſide of the river, at the diſtance of a league from the village of Villa-Manrique, muſt however be excepted. The noiſe of an artificial caſcade, which drives two mills, the appearance of ſome beautiful trees, and about a dozen houſes covered by their foliage, inclines the mind of the traveller to a momentary muſing. This pleaſing retreat is inhabited for ſome weeks in the year by monks, who at other

other times reſide at the caſtle of Ucles, by which we afterwards paſſed.

The road from Aranjuez to Fuentiduennas, a diſtance of ſeven leagues, is tolerably good, but the country is thinly peopled. Fuentiduennas is a large village, in every part of which poverty and idleneſs are too conſpicuous. There is not ſo much as a tree or a blade of graſs; not a ſingle inhabitant who ſeems to taſte the happineſs of exiſtence. Three leagues farther on, I found the large town of Tarancon, which contains about a thouſand houſes, and where ſeveral roads croſs each other. I proceeded by that which leads to Villa-Rubio, at the diſtance of a league from which I diſcovered the caſtle of Ucles. This manſion rather reſembles the habitation of ſome ſubaltern tyrant, in the ages of the feudal ſyſtem, than the peaceful abode of a religious ſociety. It was, no doubt, formerly one of the fortified places which the knights of the order of Saint James had built to defend

themſelves from the incurſions of the Moors, and the edifice ſtill remains, though no longer neceſſary for the purpoſe for which it was originally deſigned.

I paſſed the night in the town of Saylices. The next day I found, at ſome diſtance from it, other veſtiges of the reſidence of the Moors. Theſe were the remains of an old entrenchment ſituated upon an eminence. I remarked, that in places where the little inclination of the ſlope rendered the approach more eaſy, the traces of a large ditch were ſtill viſible. I afterwards paſſed through two agreeable villages, Montalva and El Congoſto, before I changed horſes at Villar del Saz. The latter village is three leagues from Olivarez, and the country round it uneven and but little cultivated. There are ſome vineyards in the neighbourhood of Olivarez, the ſituation of which is highly agreeable; and which are ſhut in by a chain of hills almoſt circular.

Bonache

Bonache is alſo three leagues from Olivarez, and from the former to the town of Campillo, the bounds of my ſecond day's journey, the diſtance is five leagues. This laſt ſtage appeared to me very incommodious. Continued rain, the briſkneſs of my horſe, which ſeemed to enjoy my fatigue, a road full of ſtones and preſenting on every ſide ſterility and depopulation, all contributed to put me out of humour; the cheerfulneſs of my guide, and his ruſtic ſongs, were not ſufficient to ſmooth my brow. This however became ſerene, when after having been ſome minutes in the inn, I caſt my eyes upon the innkeeper and his wife. They looked at me with a kind of concern, which, perhaps, was rather the effect of curioſity than compaſſion. Their attention was more marked than that commonly found in Spaniſh inns. They appeared to be in eaſy circumſtances and happy in their ſituation, and it is in more elevated claſſes only that theſe two advantages contract and debaſe the mind; in thoſe

in which luxury and the abuſe of civiliſation have not changed the nature of man, he is better and more amiable, in proportion as he is happier. Opulence renders the poſſeſſor penſive and little communicative. Moderate independence baniſhes care, and diſpoſes the mind to joy and beneficence. This is what I thought I diſcovered in the humble fireſide of our village ſociety, which, after a frugal ſupper, I left, enjoying the muſic of a guitar, and went to ſeek repoſe, then more precious to me than pleaſure.

Early the next morning it was neceſſary to quit the downy pillow fatigue had rendered ſo delicious. Before five o'clock I was on the road to Villargordo, the difficulties of which I ſhall for a long time remember. I had been inclined to continue my journey the evening before, but the frightful deſcription given me of what I was to encounter, determined me to wait at Campillo the return of day-light, and I had reaſon to be

be ſatisfied with the delay. A great part of the road lies over the ſummits of mountains, and conſiſts in paths in which two men cannot walk a-breaſt, without one of them running the riſk of being precipitated by the firſt falſe ſtep into a profound abyſs. After having thus ſtumbled for ſome hours over pieces of rock, and againſt the roots of trees, acroſs a wild and uncultivated country, I deſcended for the ſpace of a league by a winding road. Half way down I ſaw the only pleaſing proſpect which had preſented itſelf ſince my departure from Aranjuez. This was the river Cabriel, ſerpentining in a narrow valley covered with verdure, which it leaves, after having paſſed under a handſome bridge of one arch, called *El puente de Pajazo.* Near this bridge my guide ſhewed me the entrance of a vaſt cavern, formed by Nature, in the ſide of the enormous mountains I had juſt paſſed over. It ſerves as a retreat to ſmugglers and robbers. In the boſom of theſe mountains, in a baſon, three leagues from Campillo,

is the royal ſalt-pit of Minglanilla, the property of the king, and worked by about thirty men.

After paſſing the bridge of Pajazo I turned to the left, and followed for ſome time the courſe of a river conſiderably wide, but not very deep. I had afterwards to climb a ſteep hill before I reached Villargordo.

Thoſe who gain a harbour after a ſhipwreck feel not more pleaſure than I did on entering this miſerable village in the middle of a wood.

The four next leagues took me to Requena, acroſs a plain which offered a ſpecimen of the fine cultivation of the kingdom of Valencia. The neighbouring rivulets, which water the plain, concur with the goodneſs of the ſoil and the mild climate, in producing corn, wine, and paſturage, and eſpecially mulberry trees. The little city of Requena, ſituated upon the top of a high hill, commands all the neighbouring country.

Wealth

Wealth and activity proclaim there the preſence of induſtry. The number of ſilk looms, as I have been informed, amounts to nine hundred.

The mountains, over which the road lies from Campillo to Villargordo, are called *Las Contreras*, a name alarming to travellers. Thoſe on the other ſide of Requena are known by that of *Las Cabrillas*, no doubt on account of the great number of goats which feed upon them. I had been prepared to expect many difficulties in this road; in fact, ſome parts of it are very rugged, and there are deep crevices in the rock; but this ſecond trial of my patience and courage did not continue long; after travelling three leagues I arrived at a Venta, called *La Venta del Relator*, becauſe it was built for the convenience of travellers by a recorder of the council of finance.

On the other ſide of Requena I entered the kingdom of Valencia, and from

that moment my curioſity was conſiderably increaſed. I was impatient to judge whether or not the deſcription I had heard of that fine country was exaggerated. The ſteep and rocky entrance at firſt aſtoniſhed me. What! exclaimed I, is this the country ſo renowned for its fine cultivation, fertile plains, and varied productions! However, I obſerved to the right and left that the mountains were cultivated almoſt to their ſummits wherever the nature of the ſoil permitted them to be ſo. The people of Valencia, ſaid I, are at leaſt induſtrious; I find not here the grave indolence of the Caſtilians. The Valencians are not ſatisfied with the benefactions Nature of herſelf offers; with the plough in their hands they wreſt them from her upon the ſummit even of the mountains.

With theſe reflections I arrived at Chiva, a town diſtant three leagues from the Venta del Relator. Its environs, for about half a league, began to juſtify the

the deſcription which had been given me. After croſſing the dry and barren plains of Caſtile, almoſt without a tree, where the graſs is without verdure and the lands have no incloſures, I ſhall leave the reader to judge of the pleaſure I felt on finding myſelf between quick hedges, formed by aloe trees, and ſerving as encloſures to orchards, paſtures and plantations of olive and mulberry trees. The ſun was declining, the air mild, and the atmoſphere perfectly ſerene. The exhalations of ſo many plants, the ſweet vapours which riſe from cultivated lands after long rains, and the beauty of the different ſhades of verdure, all contributed to render the landſcape enchanting. I was but five leagues from Valencia, and no longer felt fatigue; I could have arrived there the ſame evening, but nothing preſſed me. Beſides, why ſhould I deprive myſelf of the pleaſure of ſeeing the environs of that city? Chiva appearing ſo agreeable to me, why ſhould I ſo immediately quit it? I reſolved to ſleep there, but ſoon repented

of

of my reſolution. The inn I alighted at contained all the inconveniences which ſo much diſguſt travellers in Spain. My hoſt had neither proviſions nor an inclination to procure me any. At another moment I might have given way to my paſſion. But Nature, who diſplayed her treaſures around me, had prepared me to indulgence, and I forgave the inhabitants in favour of the ſoil.

On leaving Chiva I found the ſame profuſion and variety of natural riches as at entering it. But at the diſtance of half a league, an entirely new ſcene began to abate my enthuſiaſm. To the fertile plains I had paſſed over, ſucceeded vaſt tracts of country, where, within incloſures of aloe trees, appeared fields of thin corn, and a few olive and mulberry trees ſcattered at different diſtances; but a part of the ground was uncleared, or, at leaſt, inſuſceptible of cultivation.

Two leagues farther on I was well recompenſed for this momentary diſappointment. From an eminence I diſcovered Valencia and the Mediterranean. The ſun, which had juſt riſen, caſt his beams upon the gently agitated ſurface of that ſea. I imagined I ſaw a vaſt mirror placed at the extremity of the horizon, and, for the firſt time, I hailed thoſe waters which, though confined within narrow bounds, have been the theatre of the immortal deeds of the moſt famous nations of the earth, and of the firſt efforts of riſing commerce, as well as that of numerous combats and ſhipwrecks. This, ſaid I to myſelf, is the ſea which ancient mythology peopled with ſo many wonderful beings, to which our anceſtors paid the worſhip only due to the ſupreme Being, and whoſe names their poſterity cannot pronounce without a kind of reſpect. Jupiter was born in one of the iſlands. Latona choſe Delos, in which to bring forth the twin deities ſhe bore in her womb. The Titans, cruſhed by the thunder

thunder of Olympus, heaved up the mountains of Sicily. Eolus and Vulcan had their empire there, and the infernal rivers their mouths. The amorous Arethuſa croſſed an arm of this ſea to join her waves to thoſe of Alpheus. In leſs fabulous ages Themiſtocles there diſplayed the victorious enſigns of the Greeks, and ſtained them with the blood of the Perſians. The Romans there deſtroyed the Carthaginian navy. Octavius, triumphant, there defeated Anthony, who, crowding ſail upon the waters which had been witneſſes to his diſaſter, haſtened to conſole himſelf for his diſgrace in the arms of the famous queen of Egypt. In more modern ages our anceſtors, piouſly inſane, traverſed theſe ſeas to recover the Holy Land from profanation. Illuſtrious knights, inheriting their zeal, but capable of purifying it from its extravagance, took up their abode in the iſland of this ſea to which they have given their name, and from this new bulwark of Chriſtianity, combat Barbarians more as enemies

mies to humanity than religion. The count of Toulouſe triumphed off Malaga, the Ottoman fleet was deſtroyed at Cheſmai, and the gallant Howe cruiſed here with as much ſafety as in one of the bays of Great Britain, and braved his enemies equally formidable by their number and valour.

The recollection of theſe circumſtances contributed to ſhorten the road, which is tolerably good and even, but which my impatience made me think rather long. At length we arrived (for I had a friend with me) at the villa of the Quarte, a league on this ſide Valencia, and entered the terreſtrial paradiſe. From this moment nothing is ſeen but an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of orchards, parterres, and country-houſes; the ſimplicity of the latter is an agreeable contraſt to the luxury of Nature. Half a league farther we entered a ſecond village, of which the continuation joins the ſuburbs of Valencia.

When

When we entered Quarte, a young man, who waited our arrival, ſtopped us at the paſſage, and begged we would get into his carriage. He was the ſon-in-law of the merchant with whom we were to lodge. We were fatigued, and, as may be ſuppoſed, wiſhed to be at the end of our journey. We therefore thanked the young ſtranger and galloped on. We ſoon entered the ſuburbs of Valencia, and found our haſty progreſs prevented by an elegant Berlin and ſix horſes; a lady and a gentleman were in the carriage. We made way for each other, and the carriage ſtopped; we were aſked, if we were not the travellers expected from Madrid; and on our anſwering in the affirmative, we were invited to accept the vacant places. We heſitated and ſtammered out an apology. The lady and gentleman inſiſted, and we imagined they were detached from the family who expected us; and not thinking to contract a new engagement, got into the Berlin,

Berlin, and the coachman turned about and drove back.

During the ſhort time we had to remain in the carriage we endeavoured to learn, by indirect queſtions, who the lady and her huſband might be. We arrived without being able to clear up the myſtery; and were then ready to think ourſelves in fairy-land. We entered an elegant houſe, croſſed ſeveral apartments, and were uſhered into thoſe deſtined to our uſe. Rich hangings and fine glaſſes dazzled our eyes, ſo lately only accuſtomed to the coarſe ſimplicity of the Ventas. We imagined ourſelves under the protection of ſome beneficent genius, which had wrought a miracle in our favour. Our apartments were on the ground floor, with a ſhaded terrace, decorated and perfumed by groups of orange trees: large quantities of fruit, in three different ſtages of maturity, weighed down the branches, ſome of which were ſtill partly in flower. Delighted with ſo many agreeable objects, we, at length, believed

believed the kingdom of Valencia to be really another valley of Tempe, inhabited, not by gods, but what was much better, by the moſt hoſpitable men on earth. Their politeneſs was ſo refined as to expreſs a fear, leaſt their eager deſire of ſhewing every attention ſhould be importunate. We were offered refreſhments, liberty, repoſe and every thing moſt agreeable to travellers thirſty and fatigued, and whoſe external appearance demanded the immediate aſſiſtance of water and clean linen. We confeſſed that a breakfaſt of fruit would ſatisfy the moſt preſſing of our wants. The table was covered in an inſtant, and the wand of our fairy ſent in two great bowls of the fineſt ſtrawberries we had ever ſeen. Valencia is the real country, and it was then the ſeaſon, of this delicious fruit, which in that kingdom unites to the large ſize of the garden ſtrawberry, the colour and taſte of that of the woods. We highly reliſhed our breakfaſt, and buſied ourſelves, to no purpoſe, in conjectures concerning

our

our hoſts, we were ſtill incapable of ſolving the enigma, when the young man, whom we had met upon our firſt arrival, entered our apartments. He had juſt learned that we had preferred the lodgings in which we were, to thoſe his mother-in-law had provided for us. He came to reproach us, and to tell thoſe who had out-manœuvred him, that their behaviour was more rude to his relations than flattering to us. The quarrel became warm, we were the innocent cauſe of it, and knew not which ſide to take. In a conflict of politeneſs, to take any part is to run the riſk of being accuſed of ingratitude; we had recourſe therefore to an accommodating meaſure. One of us remained in the enchanted palace, in which all our ſenſes had been ſo amply gratified, while the other went with the young gentleman to the apartments which had been prepared for us. On the way my friend learned that the huſband of our beneficent fairy, was M. V—, a merchant intimately connected with the houſe of

D—, which without our knowing it, had ſtrongly recommended us to him. His truly polite attention was continued to us during our ſtay at Valencia, which was ſix days; every moment was employed to gratify the caprices of our curioſity. His offers of every kind anticipated our deſires and imagination. We obey the impulſe of gratitude in thus making our public acknowledgments to the amiable couple which ſo kindly conferred upon us every mark of the moſt refined hoſpitality. This family was not the only one in which we were flatteringly received; and I cannot but add, that no people can be more complaiſant and delicately attentive to ſtrangers than the citizens of Valencia.

After having refreſhed ourſelves, and beſtowed a little attention upon our perſons, we began to wander about Valencia. There is nothing very remarkable within the city. Fine edifices are not numerous. The ſtreets are narrow and crooked; but the whole of this capital,

pital, even in the inſide, is generally pleaſing. It appears to be very clean and neat, particularly to thoſe who have paſſed through Caſtile. Activity and induſtry are ſeen in every ſhape. The ſtreets, indeed, are not paved, but this is becauſe the ſweepings, mixed with the filth with which they are ſtrewed for ſome moments in the day, are carried without the walls to fertilize the adjacent country, and the inhabitants are perſuaded, that were they paved the vaſt orchard by which Valencia is ſurrounded, would be deprived of one of its chief ſources of fertility. Indolence and miſery are baniſhed from the city, or dare not ſhew themſelves there. About four thouſand ſilk looms and frames of different dimenſions give employment to upwards of twenty thouſand of the inhabitants, without enumerating thoſe who exerciſe profeſſions relative to the manufacture, ſuch as perſons who prepare the wood and iron work of ſo great a number of machines, or ſpin, wind, or die the ſilk.

The ſilk manufacture, however, is not the only ſource of employment to the Valencians. Their ſoil produces hemp, and they export of this article, for the king's arſenals, to the amount of a million of piaſtres per annum. Their wines and brandies are alſo exported in great quantities. Formerly they had no other market than England, by the iſland of Guernſey, &c. and Holland by way of Dunkirk, where the greateſt part of the brandies of Valencia were adulterated. Within a few years paſt theſe productions have found a new market in Spaniſh America.

Rice is another ſource of riches for this fine country, to which it annually produces upwards of a million and a half of piaſtres*. Barilla is a production

* The cultivation of it is accompanied with an inconvenience to the ſalubrity of the country. The waterings, which are favourable to the crops, cover too long the plains where it is grown, and occaſion exhalations pernicious to the inhabitants. The new captain-

tion peculiar to the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia; it is eſſential in the making of glaſs. About a hundred and fifty thouſand quintals a year are gathered of it, moſt of which is ſent to France and England, and a ſmall quantity to Genoa and Venice.

Potaſh, in Spaniſh called *Soſa*, is a ſpecies of barilla employed in the ſoap manufactories of France and England. The kingdom of Valencia produces about twenty-five thouſand quintals a year.

The *Agua-azul* is a third ſort of barilla. About four thouſand quintals of this are annually produced, moſt of which is ſent to Marſeilles.

captain-general of the kingdom of Valencia, the duke de Crillon, who neglects no means of making his adminiſtration uſeful to the country, has noticed this inconvenience, and is endeavouring to remove it, by confining the cultivation of rice to lands near the ſea, upon which the waters remain not long, and where peſtilential diſeaſes are not the conſequence of the fertility they occaſion.

Laſtly, the *Solicor*, a fourth kind, is produced without cultivation, and is employed in the glaſs manufactories of France, England and Italy.

When the plant of theſe four ſorts of barilla is well matured, it is left a day or two in heaps to dry; afterwards it is put into a hole without much preſſure, three or four feet deep, then ſet on fire and turned over or ſtirred up with long poles; and in proportion as the firſt plants are conſumed others are thrown in. When they are all ſufficiently burned, the hole is covered, and the barilla left to cool. It is too often adulterated by mixing with it baſtard herbs produced in the ſame ſoil. The cinders that remain after this burning form lumps, which are exported and uſed in manufactories.

Potaſh differs in ſome reſpects from barilla, but is applied to much the ſame uſes. It is known by the names of *Salſola*, *Salicornia*, and *Glaſſimon*. The leaf

is

is long, narrow, thick, and full of juice like the leſſer marine fennel.

Oil is one of the moſt abundant productions of the kingdom of Valencia, but permiſſion is not given to export it except when the price is very low; this prohibition diſcourages the cultivation of olive trees which might be conſiderably increaſed.

The manner in which the oil of Valencia is prepared, renders it diſagreeable to palates accuſtomed to the oil of Provence. I wiſhed to know the cauſes of the imperfection; three principal ones were mentioned to me; firſt, the cuſtom of deſpoiling the olive trees of their fruit by bruiſing, inſtead of gathering it with caution; ſecondly, keeping the ſtone too long in the fruit; thirdly, the ſcarcity of oil mills, which occaſions the olives to be left ſeveral months in heaps, in which they ferment and rot before the juice is expreſſed. But theſe cauſes alone would

not produce ſo certain and general an effect, and I am of opinion, this muſt be attributed to the nature of the ſoil and the habit and taſte of the inhabitants.

The manufactories of ſoap at Marſeilles have confirmed me in this idea: theſe prefer the oils of Valencia to all others, becauſe they have a natural tartneſs, independent of their preparation, which gives them a deterſive quality that the other oils of Europe have not to the ſame degree. There are, however, certain diſtricts where the olive trees, perhaps more favoured by the ſoil, produce ſweeter oils, the taſte of which nearly approaches that of thoſe of Provence; this muſt in a great meaſure be attributed to the care the proprietors take in gathering the olives and paſſing them through the mill whilſt they are freſh.

The induſtry of the people of Valencia derives advantage from all the productions

ductions of their ſoil. The province contains a kind of earth of which they make ſquares, or tiles of coloured delph, called *Azulejos*, and which are manufactured at Valencia only. They are uſed to pave apartments or cover ceilings; the moſt complicated ſubjects are painted upon them; ſuch, for inſtance, as a maſked ball, or a bull-fight. Red is the only colour which cannot be fixed on this kind of delph; it vaniſhes entirely in the baking.

Eſpart, although one of the commoneſt productions of the kingdom of Valencia, is of great uſe to the inhabitants; they make with it mats and cordage. Formerly great quantities of it were ſent to the ports of France and the Mediterranean. This exportation was prohibited in 1783. Thoſe to whom it was an article of ſpeculation murmured at the meaſure, and pretended that all the eſpart produced by the land could not be conſumed in the country; and in 1784, ſeveral petitions were preſented to

to the Spaniſh miniſtry to obtain permiſſion to export a conſiderable portion of it. They endeavoured to prove that this exportation would not be prejudicial to the charitable eſtabliſhments, in which poor citizens were employed in ſpinning the production, ſeeing that much more of it was grown than their induſtry required. The court of Spain paid ſome attention to theſe repreſentations, and permitted certain individuals to export conſiderable quantities of raw eſpart; the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles, where it is of great uſe in the dockyards and arſenals, have reaped advantage from the permiſſion.

The Valencians make uſe even of the aloe plant, which ſeems, at leaſt in the kingdom of Valencia, to be deſtined to decorate and encloſe landed poſſeſſions. They draw from its long and thick leaves a kind of thread of which they make bridle reins.

I carefully examined all theſe particulars of manufacture and cultivation. But

But before I fulfilled this object of inſtructive curioſity, which was the chief motive of my journey, I diſcharged the firſt duties of politeneſs, by viſiting the marquis de Croix, captain-general of the province, a venerable old man, who, after having diſplayed in the vice-royalty of Mexico, all the honour of his character, calmly terminates at Valencia a laborious and uſeful life, the courſe of which has not been embittered either by chagrin or remorſe*. He inhabited an ancient edifice without the city, called, *El Real.* This part of Valencia has ſomething in

* Since this work was written, the marquis de Croix is dead, and has been ſucceeded by the duke de Crillon, ſo much known by the ſieges of Mahon and Gibraltar, and in whom the ſocial virtues are united to great military talents. The government of the kingdom of Valencia had been too long given to old general officers, who waited in ſoft indolence the cloſe of their days. The inhabitants wiſhed for one whoſe beneficent activity ſhould be directed to the embelliſhment and proſperity of the country; and ſuch a one they have at length found in the perſon of the duke de Crillon.

it majeſtic. A long vacant ſpace upon which five fine bridges over the Guadalaviar are terminated, runs between the walls of the town and the ſuburb, of which the Real and the church of the Dominicans nearly form the two extremities. Were the river full, it would be difficult to imagine a finer point of view; but under the walls of Valencia it is a good deal exhauſted by the ſluices, in its paſſage, for the purpoſe of watering and fertiliſing the plain through which it runs. Thus its benefactions are deſtructive to itſelf, and, like the pelican in the fable, it nouriſhes its progeny at the expence of its own ſubſtance. The tribute required from this river, ſeveral leagues from its mouth, is received in ſo uniform a manner as to prevent diſputes. It is previouſly ſettled, that at ſuch a time of the year, certain perſons ſhall have a right to turn a part of the Guadalaviar to the profit of ſuch and ſuch lands. Thoſe who are intereſted prepare for the fructifying ſeaſon; and at the time agreed on, their ſluices are opened, the

the ditches round their fields are filled, their olive plants and vineyards are covered with water, and the inundation extends to a conſiderable diſtance over the adjoining lands. This great benefit is conferred on all the eſtates ſituated in this fine country; and the value of them depends more or leſs upon the facility they have of enjoying it. The general and periodical watering has undoubtedly great advantages. It maintains verdure and fertility in the ſoil of this favoured country. It multiplies productions to ſuch a degree as to continually cover the earth with fruits. The mulberry trees are three times deſpoiled of their leaves; the meadows of trefoil and luzerne are mown eight and ten times a year; and the earth not ſatisfied with bearing foreſts of olive and mulberry trees, produces beneath their ſhade, ſtrawberries, grain and vegetables. But this watering has alſo a great inconvenience. The artificial fertility beſtows not on the plants the ſubſtance they receive from Nature alone, when her favours are waited for without ſoliciting them

them by extraordinary means; for which reaſon aliments in this country are much leſs nouriſhing than thoſe of Caſtile. My ſtomach felt the difference. Our dinners were each a kind of feaſt, where there was a profuſion of meats as well as politeneſs. I yielded to the exceſs of the double temptation, and had no reaſon to repent of my weakneſs. The abundance of water which changes the nature of the plants, appeared to me to have an effect upon the animal kingdom. Malignity has gone farther, and produced the following Spaniſh proverb, which I am too grateful and polite to adopt.

En Valencia la carne es hierba, la hierba agua, los hombres mugeres, y las mugeres nada *.

The fineſt walks of Valencia, the *Alameda*, *Monte Olivite* and the road of *Grao*, a little village half a league from Va-

* In Valencia meat is herbs, herbs are water, men are women, and women nothing.

Valencia, and by the ſea ſide, are upon the banks of the Guadalaviar, ready to finiſh its courſe, and render its waters to the Mediterranean. Valencia is leſs a harbour, than a bad road without anchorage or ſhelter. Had nature beſtowed on this city a better port, it would have been the richeſt in Spain. Ships ſeldom approach nearer than half a league to the coaſt, and thoſe of three maſts are ſeldom ſeen there. The cargoes of large veſſels which arrive within ſight of Valencia, are put into barks, which are rowed almoſt to the ſhore, and afterwards towed by oxen until they are out of the water; for not before is the cargo begun to be unloaded. On account of theſe obſtacles, the port of Valencia is but little frequented. The firſt time I viſited it, there were but from twenty to thirty veſſels of every different ſize. In general, the coaſt of Valencia has not one good harbour*. From

* It has for ſome time been in contemplation to improve the harbour of Culleras, a few leagues to the

the mouth of the Ebro, to Carthagena which belongs to the kingdom of Murcia, the roads of Alicant and Santa-Pola are the only places where the anchoring is ſufficiently ſafe. Even ſhips of war may anchor there; but theſe never enter either of theſe roads, except in caſes of neceſſity. The whole coaſt of the kingdom of Valencia is beſides low, dangerous and expoſed to winds, eſpecially thoſe from the eaſt.

Upon this coaſt, a little to the ſouth of Alicant, is a new eſtabliſhment, which ſhould have done honour to the adminiſtration of the count d'Aranda, but it appears to have deceived his expectations. A great number of Spaniſh ſlaves

the ſouth of Valencia. Its communication with the lake of Albufera, and a canal dug from this lake to the center of the capital, would make amends for what nature has refuſed it. If this project, of which the plans and eſtimates are compleated, be adopted by the Spaniſh miniſtry, the execution of it will be an additional favour the city of Valencia will owe to the duke de Crillon.

lan-

languiſhed in the chains of the Algerines in the little iſland of Tabarca. The king of Spain, moved by their complaints, laid before him by the Count de Aranda, ranſomed theſe unhappy men, and found them an aſylum in a little deſart iſland on the coaſt of Alicant, which upon that occaſion was called, *Nueva Tabarca*, but it is feared this eſtabliſhment, ſomewhat expenſive, and beſides, on a barren rock, will never proſper. Nature, by refuſing it wood, ſtone, earth and water, ſeems to have condemned it to remain deſert.—But to return to the Grao of Valencia. It is moſtly inhabited by ſea-faring perſons. The road to it is, like all the environs of Valencia, for three or four leagues round it, bordered with orchards, which wear an appearance of the higheſt cultivation. The ſituation in which the whole of the capital, and the delightful encloſure is embraced in one point of view, is from the top of a tower called *Miquelet*, near the cathedral. Valencia, ſeen from this elevation, ſeems not to be more than

a league in circumference. It is, however, ſaid to contain from ninety to a hundred thouſand inhabitants. The ſtreets are narrow, the ſquares not ſpacious, and men, as in moſt manufacturing cities, are crowded together. The eye is never ſatisfied with viewing the proſpect from the top of the tower. From this ſituation Valencia ſeems built in the middle of a great orchard, in which are diſperſed a vaſt number of villages, that appear like a continuation of the ſuburbs of the city. From one part of the tower we have an extenſive proſpect of the ſea, and the humble ſtream of the Guadalaviar, after having paſſed under the five bridges, runs to the right of the Grao, and is loſt in the Mediterranean. Near the mouth of this river we diſcover the Albufera, a lake which empties itſelf into the ſea by a very narrow channel *. The lake is ſo near to

* This is the lake ſpoken of in the preceding note, and which the duke de Crillon wiſhes to render uſeful in future to the navigation and commerce of the city of Valencia, as it has hitherto conduced to the pleaſures of the inhabitants.

the

the Mediterranean, that in the map it appears like a bay of which the channel is the entrance; but the taſte of its waters, and their courſe towards the ſea, leave no doubt of its being a lake. The banks are covered with game and aquatic birds; and fiſhing and ſhooting upon the Albufera are the moſt agreeable recreations of the people of Valencia.

The tower, from the top of which this fine landſcape is diſcovered, is remarkable for nothing but its loftineſs, and by this it is prejudical to the cathedral, which it ſeems to cruſh by its maſſy bulk. This edifice, which has been too much extolled, has nothing very grand in its appearance. The inſide is more pleaſing than majeſtic. The body of the building is not ſufficiently elevated, and the walls, ornamented with gilt ſtucco compartments, ſeem rather thoſe of a muſeum than a temple. It contains ſome valuable paintings, particularly thoſe of Joanes, who holds a diſtinguiſhed rank among painters of the ſe-

ſond order. Some enthuſiaſtic admirers of this artiſt (Spaniards, as it may naturally be ſuppoſed) have extolled him as the equal of Raphael. He is, in truth, like the prince of painters, judicious and correct; but how inferior is he to him in dignity and gracefulneſs! The moſt remarkable of his paintings is a baptiſm of Chriſt, which muſt certainly give pleaſure to thoſe who can pardon the colouring, which the dampneſs of the place has, perhaps, conſiderably injured.

The doors of the great altar, ornamented with admired paintings, muſt not be forgotten in the deſcription of the cathedral of Valencia. Philip V. to whom it was remarked that the altar was of maſſy ſilver, replied that the doors by which it is ſhut in, appeared to him much more precious. The paintings are ſuppoſed to be by Leonardo de Vinci, or at leaſt of his ſchool.

I alſo

I alſo paid a viſit to the other productions of the fine arts in the different edifices of Valencia, eſpecially thoſe in the college *del Patriarca*, which I had heard much praiſed. I found there the famous painting of the Laſt Supper by Rivalta, placed over the great altar, to ſee which the painter Carducho, undertook a journey to Valencia. Except this piece, there is nothing remarkable in the church of the Patriarch. It is indeed beautiful in its ſimplicity. Enormous quantities of tapers and incenſe are conſumed there. The moſt ſenſible effects of this profuſion is the dirtineſs, in conſequence of ſo much ſmoke, of the walls and ſacred ornaments of the church. It contains a rich ſhrine, which is ſhewn with much ceremony to the curious, and even to thoſe who are not ſo. It was not poſſible to eſcape the enumeration of the much more diſguſting than venerable treaſures it contains. We were obliged to hear, on our knees, from a young clerk, the recital of the liſt of bones, jaws, ſkulls and other parts of the human

body, which devotion has removed from the tomb to become ornaments to the altar. From motives of politeneſs, we ſubmitted to undergo this painful ceremony, and noted it in our travelling journal, to preſerve from it others who, in future, may viſit the college of the Patriarch.

I obſerved, in ſeveral other churches, paintings, by Joanes, Rivalta and Orrente, the three artiſts of Valencia who have acquired the greateſt celebrity. I was not much ſurpriſed to find the beſt pieces of Victoria and Vergara, whom the Spaniards highly extol, feeble and deſtitute of expreſſion. I was, however, tolerably ſatisfied with the paintings in freſco, with which Palomino, the ſame who wrote the hiſtory of the painters of Spain, has decorated the ceiling of *San Juan del Mercado*, and that of *Nueſtra Senora de los Deſamparados*.

Before I conclude what I have to ſay, relative to the ſacred edifices of Valencia,

cia, I muſt not omit to mention the *Temple*, a church entirely modern, and built in a ſimple and noble taſte. I ſaw there two ſmall paintings by Joanes, which gave me much pleaſure; one of theſe is a Laſt Supper in the manner of Vandyk, and the other a Carrying of the Croſs. The latter reſembles conſiderably the painting by Raphael, known by the name of *Paſmo de Sicilia.* The reſemblance confirmed what had been told me, that Joanes had taken that painter for his model.

But what engaged my attention ſtill more than the productions of the fine arts, were the manufactures of ſilk which give Valencia its reputation, and contribute to render that city flouriſhing. I followed the works from the cultivation of the mulberry tree to the finiſhing of the richeſt ſilks; and ſhall endeavour to give a ſucceſſive deſcription of them.

Spain, the kingdom of Valencia in particular, might have great quantities

of ſilk to export after ſupplying all the manufactures of the nation. Government ſeems not convinced of this truth, becauſe it creates frequent obſtacles to the exportation of ſilk, and when this is permitted, the duties are conſiderable. They amount to nine reals a quartillo, about two livres ſeven ſols (two ſhillings) the pound of Valencia, which is but twelve ounces, and at the moſt common price is worth about fifteen livres (twelve and ſixpence) raw, (*en rama*). In bad years, as in 1784, it has riſen to eighty reals, or twenty livres (ſixteen ſhillings and eightpence). There was in that year ſuch a want of ſilk, that the manufacturers of Valencia aſked Government permiſſion to import to Spain two hundred thouſand pound weight of French and Italian ſilk, duty free. In common years the pound of raw ſilk coſts eight reals, the throwing, and dying green, blue, and other common colours; ſo that a pound of ſilk, in a ſtate to be employed, comes to about ſeventy-one reals, or ſeventeen or eighteen livres (fifteen ſhillings).

It may naturally be ſuppoſed the price varies with circumſtances. One of thoſe which has the moſt influence is the greater or leſſer plenty of mulberry leaves. Theſe precious trees are very numerous in the plain of Valencia, and are all of the white kind (*moreras*). This diſtinction, which in France would be ſuperfluous, is not ſo in Spain, where, in ſome provinces, as the kingdom of Granada for inſtance, the leaves of the black mulberry tree (*morales*) ſerve to feed the ſilk worms, and produce almoſt as fine ſilk as that which comes from the white ones.

Theſe leaves are ſold by the load (*carga*) of ten arrobas; the arroba of Valencia, which is about twenty-ſeven French pounds, coſt, in 1783, about thirty-ſix ſols tournois (eighteen pence).

The leaves of the mulberry tree are gathered once, twice, and at moſt three times a year; but it ſeldom happens that the

the two laſt gatherings are either ſo abundant or of ſo good a quality as the firſt. The ſeaſon for gathering laſts almoſt the whole year, and the trees are ſucceſſively deprived of their leaves, in proportion to the conſumption the ſilk worms make of the latter, and which gradually increaſes until the moment of their beginning to form their balls. The leaves only of the mulberry tree are plucked or beat off, the branches are ſpared as much as poſſible. Thus deſpoiled of its verdure, in the middle of the fine ſeaſon of the year, and during the richeſt vegetation, it reſembles trees withered upon their roots. The quantity of naked trunks which ſeem to be ſtruck with ſterility, and increaſe in number as the ſeaſon advances, diſfigures the plains, which in other reſpects are ſo verdant and fertile. The effect is ſtill more diſagreeable when the mulberry trees are pruned or lopped, and wholly deprived of their branches; an operation which muſt be performed at leaſt every three years.

The

The kingdom of Valencia has produced, in ten years, ſix millions of pounds weight of ſilk, which makes ſix hundred thouſand pounds annually; and as all Spain produces only a million of pounds weight per annum, it appears that the kingdom of Valencia alone furniſhes more than half of the general produce. The ſilk of Valencia is the fineſt in Spain, and in this reſpect to be compared to the beſt in Europe; but the ſpinning is ſtill imperfect, becauſe there are not, as in France and other kingdoms, houſes where the ſpinners are aſſembled, and ſuperintended by an inſpector, who takes care that all the ſilks are uniformly ſpun. In Valencia the ſpinning is divided among thouſands of hands; theſe put ſix, ſeven, eight and more ends in a thread which ſhould have a determined number; hence the inequalities in the tiſſues in which theſe ſilks are employed; on which account thoſe we receive from Spain are never made uſe of in any fine work. The ſilk uſed in our high priced tiſſues comes

from

from Piedmont and our ſouthern provinces. For a few years paſt there has been leſs demand in France for the ſilks of Valencia; the repeated prohibitions of their exportation has increaſed the cultivation of the mulberry trees in Languedoc. The peaſants, ſeeing the profits theſe trees would produce, have preferred them to others, and multiplied them prodigiouſly, ſo that in 1783, the ſilk in France was leſs dear than that of Valencia bought on the ſpot, deducting the duties with which the exportation is charged. A merchant of my acquaintance, who at this time had the privilege of exporting, duty-free, a hundred thouſand pounds weight a year, for ſix years ſucceſſively, could not diſpoſe of that quantity in France in the courſe of the year 1783. Spain might, perhaps, ſupply the want of this market by increaſing the number of her looms, which ſhe does every day, and ſending to her American colonies greater quantities of the produce of her induſtry; but her ſtuffs cannot be improved but in pro-

proportion to the ſale ſhe can obtain for them in foreign countries, where the taſte of the conſumers will concur in forming that of the manufacturers.

The ſilks of the kingdom of Valencia are eſtimated, *communibus annis*, at ſix or ſeven millions of piaſtres (from eight to nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling). At the time I was in Spain it employed not half this quantity, although there were in the capital near four thouſand looms. The reſt are ſent out of the kingdom in ſpite of prohibitions, either to France by Barcelona, or to Portugal by Seville and Eſtramadura. At preſent more ſilk muſt remain in Spain; ſerious meaſures have been taken to encourage the induſtry which is exerciſed in the manufacture of them. Silk looms had been eſtabliſhed in Catalovia, in the kingdom of Granada, Cordova, Seville, &c. in which were made handkerchiefs, ribbons, and various plain ſilks in quantities nearly ſufficient to the national conſumption. The French manufactures

of

of Languedoc, however, ſtill found a conſiderable market among the Spaniards. The Spaniſh government in the regulation of 1778 had excluded ſilk ſtockings only from foreign merchandize ſent to the colonies. But as theſe continue to be ſent into Spain, the law was eaſily eluded; it was only neceſſary to affix to French ſilk ſtockings the mark of one of the Spaniſh manufactories. Intereſt invited to this fraud; it would have required too much vigilance, and even a ſpecies of inquiſition, to have prevented it. Government endeavoured to render it uſeleſs by iſſuing, in 1785, an abſolute prohibition of theſe articles from France; which, added to the eſtabliſhment of a great number of new frames, has produced almoſt a total ſtagnation in the ſales which the manufactures of Languedoc had in Spain.—But to return to the manufactures of Valencia.

There is not in this city any edifice wherein all the operations through which

which ſilk paſſes are performed. Perſons who wiſh to ſee them ſucceſſively muſt go from one workſhop to another. This I did, conducted by a manufacturer, equally obliging and intelligent, named Don Manuel Foz, who had travelled a long time to acquire knowledge in the manufacture of ſilks, and amongſt other diſcoveries, brought from Conſtantinople the ſecret of watering them. As a recompence for his zeal he was made inſpector of all the manufactures of Valencia.

There are but few merchants and tradeſmen in Valencia who are not more or leſs intereſted in the ſilk manufacture; this is a kind of point of honour among them. Some have but four or five looms or frames, others ſeveral hundreds.

The firſt operation to be performed after the worm has finiſhed its ingenious cell, is to deſtroy it before it breaks through its own work to enter on a new

new ſtate of exiſtence. To this effect the balls are thrown into an oven moderately heated; when the worm is killed they may be kept unſpun as long as may be thought proper.

To deſpoil them of the net-work in which they are inveloped, they are thrown into hot water; women then ſelect, with aſtoniſhing facility and quickneſs, the threads of ſeveral balls, and join and wind them thus united upon quills or bobbins. On the make of theſe quills depends the greater or leſſer perfection in the winding of the ſilk. Thoſe ſtill made uſe of in Spain are very imperfect, as I ſhall hereafter explain.

It muſt firſt be obſerved, that the threads of ſilk ought to be drawn from four balls at leaſt, and even in this caſe it is only fit for ſlight ſilks, ribbons and taffeties. Indeed, I ſaw a ſkein which I was told was made from but two balls; but ſo delicate a ſilk thread cannot be applied to any uſe. The threads are com-

commonly taken from ſeven or eight balls, and afterwards doubled to form one fit for uſe in the loom or frame.

The contexture is, as every one knows, compoſed of two diſtinct parts, the weft and the chain. The weft is what the ſhuttle draws from one ſide of the loom to the other, and leaves interwoven between the two plains formed by the chain. The weft being more worked than the chain muſt neceſſarily have a greater conſiſtence. To this effect the two threads of which it is compoſed are firſt twiſted ſeparately and afterwards together; but for the chain the ſecond operation is ſufficient. From this difference, the thread of the weft, viewed through a microſcope, appears indented, or uneven, like a cable; whereas that of the chain is ſmooth and flat, and conſequently proper to be expoſed to the light, that is to receive the brilliant luſtre which is ſo beautiful in ſilks.

But their beauty depends more particularly upon the manner in which the ſilk is reeled or wound from the ball. This firſt winding is performed in three different ways, according to the quills employed in it. That which is conſtantly practiſed in Spain has this defect; the little threads of ſix, ſeven or eight balls are unwound at a time, from one ſingle thread, and are wound on a ſmall ſpindle, without rubbing againſt each other, which would lay the little hairs that render them rough; whence it reſults that the thread of ſilk thus formed eaſily frays. In the Piedmont manner of winding, each thread is joined to another, and theſe are never ſeparated until they have been twiſted round each other four or five times.

The third manner, that of Vaucanſon, is ſtill an improvement upon the latter. Upon the quill or bobbin which he invented, the two threads of ſilk, after their firſt twiſting, join a ſecond time,

time, for the ſame purpoſe. This operation is called the *double croſſing*.

If theſe threads, thus upon the ſpindles, be deſtined to the weft, they are placed perpendicularly upon a machine of ſeveral ſtories, where they are ſeparately twiſted; they are carried hence to another machine, where they are twiſted together, after which they are fit to be uſed in the loom. Thoſe for the chain, as I have before obſerved, are not twiſted until they have been joined together. Theſe machines, ſo precious to the arts, which ſave the labour of ſo many hands, are known at Valencia, and Talavera de la Reyna. I had already ſeen in Talavera, a ſingle wheel from which a thouſand of theſe little ſpindles upon which the twiſted ſilk threads are wound, receive their motion; but thoſe I ſaw at Valencia were leſs, becauſe this city contains not, like Talavera, a royal manufactory confined to one edifice. Each manufacturer there finds, divided into different quarters, workmen and machines

neceſſary to his operations, and prefers thoſe moſt fit for the purpoſe.

Nothing is more ſimple than the management of theſe twiſting machines when the wheel has put them in motion. Women and children guide the operation of the little perpendicular ſpindles; the moment they meet any obſtacle, a touch with the finger ſets them again at liberty. If one of the threads break, the damage is replaced in the twinkling of an eye; their fingers, from long exerciſe, are aſtoniſhingly expert in the work, ſeize the two ends with a quickneſs bordering upon prodigy, unite them by an imperceptible knot, and the ſpindle immediately regains its motion with the reſt.

The thread of ſilk, before it is twiſted double, undergoes an operation which I muſt not omit to mention. Whilſt it is in ſkeins, it is ſpread over a wide and ſhallow caldron, in which ſeveral viſcid ingredients are boiling; and the ſteam

from

from which prepares the threads to adhere to each other. This operation is called, by the French manufacturers, making the threads, *paſſer a la breve*.

The ſkeins are carried hence to the twiſting machine. The ſilk, after coming from this operation, is called *organſin*: it is in this ſtate only that it can be brought from Piedmont, where the twiſting was better performed than elſewhere, until it was improved by Vaucanſon*. This able mechanic has united all the operations performed in the manufacture of ſilk. His method is excluſively followed at Lyons: but his quills for double croſſing can ſerve only for the ſilk of the country, becauſe foreign ſilk, which for the moſt part is uſed in theſe manufactures, to be exported muſt be reduced to organſin.

* It muſt be remarked, that the ſilk wound and twiſted after the manner of Vaucanſon, forms a texture more even, and one third ſtronger than the textures of the ordinary ſilk.

Spain has in this reſpect a great advantage over manufacturing nations; ſhe has more ſilk than ſhe can employ, and might manufacture it in the beſt manner poſſible, yet ſtill ſhe continues her defective method. Government has endeavoured to employ the only means capable of producing a change of this kind; means which are ſlow but perſuaſive. In 1781, a French merchant eſtabliſhed at Madrid, engaged with the count of Florida Blanca, to furniſh, firſt to the manufactures of the kingdom of Mercia (the country of the Spaniſh miniſter) afterwards to thoſe of Valencia, and ſucceſſively to others as they ſhould require it, a hundred reels or frames to wind the ſilk, according to the manner of Vaucanſon; and in return the count granted the merchant the privilege of exporting, duty-free, ſix hundred thouſand pound weight of ſilk in ſix years. This meaſure may, however, be ineffectual for ſome time from the idleneſs of the Spaniſh manufacturers, who will not willingly make uſe of a cloſer and finer

ſilk

ſilk, becauſe it would be neceſſary to weave it with greater care, and becauſe the thread of this ſilk contains three ends inſtead of two, by which means the labour is increaſed without a proportionable increaſe of profit; for which reaſon French hands were obliged to be employed in the firſt experiments of this kind.

Their ſucceſs cannot be expected to be great, if we may judge by a manufacture eſtabliſhed a few years ſince at La Milaneſa, a league from Valencia, by an intelligent manufacturer of the name of Payeſſa. He introduced there the method of Vaucanſon; and, when I viſited his manufactory, he had no proſpect of recovering what he had advanced to form it. He ſcarcely ever employed two hundred perſons; theſe were confined to winding and reeling the ſilk, to bring it to the ſtate in which it is called *organſin*; and, thus prepared, it was from fifty to ſixty reals a pound dearer than that which was prepared according

cording to the Spaniſh method, and conſequently found but little ſale.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of the dying or manufacturing of ſilks. The firſt is eaſily conceived; the other difficult to comprehend, and much more ſo to explain without the aſſiſtance of plates. I ſhall only obſerve, with reſpect to the firſt, that all the ſilks are dyed in the ſkein, and immediately afterwards put upon the loom. It ſometimes happens that they are dyed in the piece, but this is only when they are ſtained, or when the dying in the ſkein has not well ſucceeded. When I was at Valencia there were a hundred and ſeventeen maſter dyers, but ſome of them wanted buſineſs.

The manufactures in which the people of Valencia ſucceed beſt, are moſtly thoſe of plain ſilks: fine damaſks worked with large flowers, to hang apartments, are made there in great perfection; but, in general, theſe undertakings depend upon

upon the orders from the court, the capital and the provinces. The patterns of France are followed as closely as poſſible through all their variations, and thoſe invented in Spain, more or leſs, reſemble the former. The academy of fine arts at Valencia, however, is earneſtly endeavouring to encourage pattern-drawers; and for this purpoſe, there is a ſchool which has already produced ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed abilities; among others a young man of the name of Ferrers, who died a little before my arrival at Valencia, ſome of whoſe groups of flowers I ſaw and could not but greatly admire.

But what the Valencians excel moſt in is the art of watering the ſilks (*dar las aguas*); which M. Foz has brought to the greateſt perfection. He very clearly explained to me the whole of this operation, which conſiſts in rolling a cylinder upon the ſilk intended to be watered: the cylinder is preſſed by an enormous weight moved by a great round ſtone,

ſtone, which draws a lever in its circular motion; the ſilk is folded in the manner of an outer lattice window-ſhutter when it is ſhut, and theſe folds muſt be frequently varied that the undulations may be equally divided. M. Foz obſerved, that the diſtribution and form of theſe were almoſt the effect of chance; but he proved that they might, in ſome meaſure, be influenced by wetting the ſilk in certain places, and in a particular manner; and in this conſiſts the ſecret of which he alone is the poſſeſſor in Spain. The excellence of his method is proved by the beauty of the waterings which come from his preſſes: he enabled me to judge of it by comparing the blue ribbons of the order of Charles III. watered by him, with thoſe of the order of the Holy Ghoſt; I was obliged to confeſs that the latter gained nothing by the compariſon.

The Exchange of Valencia is one of the remarkable edifices of that capital. Here the merchants, traders and manufacturers

facturers aſſemble to learn the daily price of ſilks, as in other places of the price of ſtocks.

Valencia has alſo had, for a few years paſt, a patriotic ſociety, the principal cares of which are directed to the improvement of the cultivation of mulberry trees, and the quality of ſilks: it has already produced ſeveral volumes of memoirs full of uſeful papers. The encouragement it gives to arts is not confined to the manufacture of ſilk. Towards the end of the year 1786, it gave a premium to the inventor of a new frame for the manufacture of ſilk, cotton, and worſted ſtockings at leſs expence than according to the common method; as alſo a ſecond premium to a dyer for the invention of a ſimple and ingenious machine, which, with great facility, reduced to powder the wood of Brazil and Campeachy; and a third to the inventor of a machine for dreſſing flax. It is particularly in countries which are not populous, and where the

arts

arts are as yet in their infancy, that it is eſpecially uſeful to ſave labour, by ſimplifying the workmanſhip of manufactures.

At Valencia there is a public library; that of the archbiſhop's palace; it appeared to me to be but little frequented. Manufacturing cities ſeldom abound in lovers of ſcience, and the belles lettres; the cultivation of theſe ſuppoſes leiſure; uſeful arts require a continued aſſiduity. Valencia, however, is the country of Gregory Mayans, who died a few years ago, leaving behind him a reputation of vaſt erudition, which extends beyond the limits of Spain, and to which M. de Voltaire did not diſdain to do juſtice on various occaſions. The library of the epiſcopal palace contains a collection of ſtatues and antique buſts, collected by the nephew of the late archbiſhop. The ſcruples of the preſent prelate have diminiſhed the value of the collection by mutilating ſome of theſe monuments. The auſtere morality of the archbiſhop has

has deprived this capital of all public amuſements. The theatre of Saragoſſa having been burned a few years ago, the prelate, a declared enemy to all profane pleaſures, obtained a promiſe from the court that the repreſentations of the drama ſhould never more pollute his ſee. The people of Valencia are diſpleaſed with him; and, according to what I heard of his character, he appeared not to me to join to the advantage of edifying by his virtues the more rare talent of rendering them beloved.

My ſpeculations and amuſements were not confined to this capital; I viſited a part of its environs. The moſt agreeable of my excurſions was to the charming retreat of a canon of the cathedral, Don Pedro Mayoral. This eccleſiaſtic, a well informed man, and ſimple in his manners, has conciliated a philoſophical life with the enjoyments of the beauties of Nature that ſurround his habitation, which is ſituated in the village of Benimamet, half a league from Valencia,

lencia, upon an eminence, in the middle of a garden, in which the orange and lemon trees perfume the pureſt air. The verdure of the walks, the variety of the proſpects, and the varied fertility on every ſide, make it a moſt delicious abode. The reception I there met with added to the charms of the place. Our diſpoſitions naturally take a tincture of the objects by which we are ſurrounded. How is it poſſible to perceive a contracted brow in the midſt of a beautiful landſcape, and in the moſt temperate climate? The canon exhibited, both in his mind and perſon, the reflection of that ſerenity which reigned around him. In imitation of Nature, which had abundantly beſtowed upon him her gifts, he was profuſe in his polite attentions; he complaiſantly accompanied me to view the treaſures of his garden, and would not be ſatisfied with confining my enjoyment of them to bare contemplation. He had prepared a ſumptuous collation, of which the principal riches were produced by this land of promiſe. Among other foreign

reign trees, the cultivation of which occupied his leiſure, he ſhewed me that which produces the *chirimoya*, the American fruit ſo much extolled for its fine flavour, and which, it is ſaid, has never ſucceeded in Europe. He proved to me the contrary; the trees had ſtill ſome remains of fruit, with which he gratified my curioſity. The chirimoya, which was as big as a middling pear, was divided into eight or ten parts, that each of the gueſts might taſte it. The pulp is whitiſh, and contains five or ſix flat black kernels: its taſte reſembles thoſe of an apple, butter and a nut united; but with this there is a certain inſipidity which, if the fruit merits its reputation, it certainly has not in its native ſoil.

Benimamet is diſtant a quarter of a league from Burjaſot, another village which ſtands on higher ground, and in the church of which lies interred Mademoiſelle l'Advenant, a celebrated actreſs, the le Couvreur of Spain *, but whoſe remains

* Mademoiſelle le Couvreur, a famous tragic actreſs in France, who died a few years ago.

were

were not ſo ſeverely treated as thoſe of the French Melpomene. At Burjaſot I was ſhewn, as ſome of the curioſities of the country, the *Sichas*, or *Silhos*, which are large holes, dug vertically, and lined with hewn ſtone. They are the work of the Moors, who uſed in them to ſtore their grain. The modern inhabitants of Valencia employ them for the ſame purpoſe. I had the curioſity to deſcend the deepeſt of theſe Silhos, but had nearly found reaſon to repent of my courage. The deſcent was eaſily enough effected with my feet in a ſtraw baſket, and my hands fixed to a cord which was gradually let down. I got to the bottom without effort or danger; but when I was to reaſcend, though my heart did not fail me, my head was ready to turn. I had no ſooner been raiſed about thirty feet, than I had nearly quitted my hold; happily I cried out in time to be let eaſily down again. Had not my cries, which announced fear on my part, and cauſed it in thoſe whom I had left above, been immediately complied with, moſt probably

bably I ſhould never have written an account of my journey: but perhaps I ought to aſk, would this have been a loſs to the public? As ſoon as I found myſelf at the bottom, a robuſt and experienced waggoner came down and faſtening me to his girdle by the cord which had nearly been fatal to me, accompanied me in my perpendicular aſcent. I made it with as much confidence as ſafety; and arriving like truth from the bottom of my well, I remarked in the faces of thoſe who had aſſiſted me, more fear than I myſelf had felt.

Another intereſting excurſion which I made from Valencia was to Murviedro. This city is built upon a part of the ground upon which old Saguntum formerly ſtood.

Murviedro is diſtant four leagues from Valencia, upon the road to Barcelona. This road croſſes one of the moſt fertile and variegated diſtricts in the kingdom of Valencia. I ſtopped twice by the

way; once to ſee San Miguel de los Reyes, a convent of Franciſcans, the cloiſters of which greatly reſemble thoſe of the Eſcurial, and appear to have had the ſame architect; and afterwards to viſit the Carthuſian monaſtery of Porta Cœli, one of the three in the environs of Madrid. The predilection of the Carthuſian monks, for this country, would alone be ſufficient to give an idea of its beauty and fertility. Nothing can be more delightful than the ſituation of the Carthuſian monaſtery I viſited. Every thing breaths abundance, and preſerves a calm in the mind. It is impoſſible to conſider as the God of vengeance, whoſe anger is to be appeaſed by auſterity and ſelf-denial, the Supreme Being who pours down his benefactions in ſuch profuſion around this habitation. Thoſe who reſide in it, ſeem only to be inſpired with peaceful ſentiments. I entered ſome of their cells, which are remarkable for their neatneſs and elegant ſimplicity; it appeared to me that a good conſcience, enjoying its own purity, ought rather to

reſide

reſide there than repentance drinking her own tears. I viſited the church-yard of the monks; modeſtly ſurrounded by palm trees, which ſhade their tombs; while roſe buſhes are planted on the outſide as if they were intended to prevent their remains from infecting the air which is reſpired in this peaceful aſylum. I regretted that, as in this place, death was not every where preſented under leſs hideous forms, and deprived of the images which render it ſo frightful. Why, ſaid I to myſelf, ſhould this inevitable paſſage be ſtrewed over with funereal objects and ſurrounded with horrors? Why ſhould we not rather aid mortals to paſs through it, if not with joy, at leaſt with ſerenity? Far then be removed from the bed of death every thing which may terrify ſurvivors! Let us enjoy without exceſs, and conſequently without remorſe, the good things which the earth produces; and when the organized duſt, which for a few moments is animated by the breath of life, is required of us by that common mother of mankind, let it ſerve

to fertilise her entrails, and, if it be poſſible, to beautify her ſurface.

With theſe reflections I ſet off to Murviedro. Two leagues from it, the caſtles by which it is commanded, preſented themſelves to view. Having Livy in my pocket, I ſought for the deſcription of the famous ſiege the citizens of Saguntum ſuſtained againſt Hannibal. I doubted not but the walls were the remains of the ramparts from which theſe courageous people ſo long repelled the Carthaginian hero. I afterwards learned that theſe caſtles were the work of the Moors. They had built upon the heights on which they are ſituated, ſeven fortreſſes that communicated with each other by ſubterraneous paſſages, ſome of which are ſtill almoſt entire. It appears that the ground upon which they ſtand was not a part of old Saguntum, and that this city, built half way up the eminence, extended on the other ſide into the plain approaching the ſea. Livy ſays, it was not a thouſand paces from it: if he was exact in

his

his calculation, the opinion I adopted is well founded: for in that caſe Saguntum muſt have extended far beyond the preſent confines of Murviedro, which is at the diſtance of a league from the ſea. In ſupport of this opinion it was remarked to me, that at the foot of the eminence many Carthaginian and Roman antiquities had been diſcovered. We ſtill find, in Murviedro, ſtones with Phœnician or Latin inſcriptions, and the latter are numerous. Some of them are inſerted in the walls, and there are five of them, remarkably well preſerved, to be ſeen in the walls of a church. Thoſe on the ſide of the mountain appear to have been unintentionally carried thither by the Moors, in common with other ſtones for building. Thus, in the walls of their ancient fortreſſes, we find a ſtatue of white marble without a head, and ſome ſtones with inſcriptions placed in an inverted poſition by the hands of ignorance.

I could not but walk with a kind of reverence over this ground, trodden in turns by Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Moors and Spaniards, all of whom had here diſtinguiſhed themſelves either by their valour or their induſtry. I compared the different ſtates through which it had paſſed under theſe different maſters. It has undoubtedly been the ſcene of greater ſplendor and magnificence, but are not the riches of Nature with which it is covered, the olive and mulberry trees, the vines, the verdure which decorates it from the confines of Murviedro to the ſea, and on every other ſide as far as the eye can reach, with the induſtry of the inhabitants which converts all theſe productions into profit, as valuable in the eye of the philoſopher as the exploits of the warlike inhabitants of Saguntum, and the magnificence which the Romans formerly diſplayed within its walls? For the city having been puniſhed for its brave defence by a total deſtruction, was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans, who made it one of their *municipia*, and one of the

the moſt ſplendid cities they poſſeſſed out of Italy. At this period was erected the monument of which the mutilated remains ſtill prove the power and opulence of Saguntum during the laſt ages of the Roman republic. Among other temples there was one conſecrated to Bacchus, ſome remains of which are ſeen to the left, when, returning from Valencia, we arrive at the entrance of Murviedro. The moſaic pavement was preſerved until the preſent century: but the negligence of thoſe to whom the care of it was entruſted, had nearly ſuffered this precious relic of antiquity to be loſt to the world, when what remained of it was removed to the library of the archbiſhop, where it is ſtill to be ſeen.

The foundation of the ancient Circus of Saguntum is ſtill diſcoverable, upon which walls, ſerving as an incloſure to a long continuation of orchards, have been built. A part of it yet remains above ground, in which the maſonry of the Romans is clearly diſcernible. This Circus,

as it is eaſy to perceive, was adjoining to a ſmall river, which was the chord of the ſegment formed by the Circus. The bed only of the river now remains. It cannot be doubted but that, when the mock ſea fights, called *Naumachiæ*, were here exhibited, this bed was filled by the tributes of neighbouring canals which ſtill exiſt.

But of all that remains of old Saguntum, nothing is in ſo good preſervation as the theatre. The examination of this noble monument cannot but be extremely pleaſing to a real lover of antiquity. My guide was the curate of one of the churches of Murviedro, a man equally polite and well informed on the ſubject in queſtion. He acknowledged, that all he was going to advance was taken from a diſſertation by a learned Spaniſh Dean of the laſt century, named *Marti*. Mr. Peyron has given an extract of this performance in his *Eſſais ſur l'Eſpagne*, and I muſt refer thoſe who wiſh to form an accurate idea of an ancient Roman theatre

theatre to the extract. I ſhall confine myſelf to the following particulars, which appeared to me the moſt intereſting:

The theatre is ſufficiently well preſerved for us plainly to diſtinguiſh the manner in which the ſpectators were diſtributed at theſe dramatic repreſentations. The different ſeats which the citizens occupied, each claſs according to its rank, are diſtinctly ſeen. At the bottom, in the place of our orcheſtra are the ſeats for the magiſtrates; next thoſe for the equeſtrian order, and laſt of all thoſe for the body of the people. The two door ways at which the magiſtrates entered ſtill remain; alſo two higher up, excluſively reſerved for the equeſtrian order; and almoſt at the top of the amphitheatre, which continues without interruption from top to bottom, the two galleries by which the multitude withdrew, and for that reaſon, called by the ancients, *vomitoria*; laſtly, the four or five higheſt rows of ſeats

were

were deſtined to lictors and courteſans, who entered without either door or ſtaircaſe. As this theatre is built on the declivity of a mountain, the ground riſes in proportion with the benches; ſo that on which ever ſide the people entered they found themſelves almoſt on a level with the place they were to occupy. Thoſe of the lictors and courteſans are ſtill in good preſervation; and the ſemicircular roof of the whole edifice is entire. On the outſide, a part of the plinth which terminates it yet remains, as alſo the projecting ſtones, in which were inſerted the bars to which was faſtened the great curtain, ſufficiently large to cover the whole aſſembly, and drawn to keep off rain and the ſun; for except in this caſe the whole audience was expoſed to the open air. The care of the Romans to avoid tumult, either on entering the theatre or quitting it, and every kind of accident, appears to have been admirable. It is manifeſt that in ſuch a theatre, all of ſtone, without a foot of timber, accidents from fire were not to be feared.

We

We have juſt ſeen that the whole aſſembly was ſeated and defended from the injuries of the air. Every means was taken to prevent diſorder. The places of the judges are clearly diſcernible towards the right ſide of the amphitheatre. If any turbulent ſpectator drew upon himſelf their animadverſion, they had lictors at hand to ſeize him; theſe conducted him into a private chamber, between which and the judges ſeats there was a communication by a little ſtaircaſe; he was there interrogated, and, if found culpable, was confined in a priſon, under the chamber, until the exhibition was concluded.

I did not take the dimenſions of this noble monument; but my guide ſuppoſed it, according to the eſtimate of dean Marti, capable of containing nine thouſand perſons; and this appeared to me credible. But what ſeemed to me but little ſo was, that the actors ſhould, in the open air, have been able to make themſelves heard by ſo numerous an audi-

audience. I wiſhed to aſſure myſelf of this, and placing a boy where the ſtage formerly was, but of which no traces remain, whilſt I was at the top of the amphitheatre, made him repeat phraſes, of which I loſt not a word. I have ſaid no traces of the ſtage remain; in fact, beyond the amphitheatre, of which ſome of the benches towards the center are ſenſibly decayed, ſcarcely any veſtiges of the place occupied by the actors are to be found. The ground about the theatre offers nothing but a few trees and decayed buildings. The front of the ancient ſtage, which, in our modern theatres, may be compared to the ſpace in which the foot-lights are placed, has been converted into an alley of mulberry trees; and ropes are now made on that ground where formerly the verſes of Terence were recited to a Roman audience. This compariſon cauſed me to reflect for an inſtant on the viciſſitude of human affairs: man, ſaid I, ſeems to wiſh to recompence himſelf for the frailty and ſhortneſs of his exiſtence

iſſence by raiſing monuments, which remain whilſt ages and generations ariſe and paſs away: we might ſuppoſe them capable of braving the ravages of years; but Time, jealous of his impreſcriptible rights, beats down, overturns, and annihilates theſe pretended immortal edifices. The ſtars in the celeſtial canopy, ever perfect, ever incorruptible, ſhine only on their ruins; and men will ſoon diſagree about the place they have occupied: the ſtars themſelves, which by their immenſity and duration awe our imagination, as our eyes are dazzled by their ſplendour, will one day be extinguiſhed by the voice of that Eternal Being, who alone will ſurvive our works and his own creation.

Before I quit the theatre of Saguntum, I muſt obſerve, that no care is taken to preſerve this valuable monument. A ſort of keeper has his habitation there, which he extends or changes as is moſt convenient to himſelf, by pulling down whatever incommodes him. A few poor families

milies build within it wretched huts, for which the Romans, almoſt twenty centuries ago, prepared walls and ceilings. Never was time better aſſiſted in its ravages. Had count Caylus or Winkelmann been witneſſes to theſe ſacrileges, they would have watered this barbarous earth with their tears; but antiquity appears not to have one enthuſiaſtical admirer within a hundred leagues round Murviedro. I muſt, however, do juſtice to the ingenious idea of the corregidor of Murviedro, notwithſtanding it would appear to us, who are accuſtomed to the circumſcribed limits of our modern theatres, too vaſt and gigantic. This magiſtrate raiſing up, if I may ſo ſpeak, the remains of a Roman theatre, laſt year reſtored it for ſome hours to its ancient uſe, by cauſing a Spaniſh piece to be repreſented within its walls.

From the theatre of Saguntum we climb rather than walk up to the ancient fortreſſes of the Moors, which crown

crown the encloſure; upon the platform on the ſummit, is an humble hermitage, the inhabitant of which enjoys one of the fineſt proſpects in Spain. It commands the rich plain which ſeparates Murviedro from Valencia. From the hermitage we ſee the ſteeples of this capital riſing through the orchards, by which it is ſurrounded. Before us we view, in perſpective, a conſiderable part of the Mediterranean, the ſhores of which are covered with vineyards, olive and mulberry trees from Murviedro to the edges of its banks: on the left a chain of hills bounds the horizon and inſenſibly diminiſhes to a level with the ſea, leaving no interval but that formed by the road to Barcelona.

Satisfied with admiring, I deſcended to Murviedro. The ſervant of our obliging guide there waited for us, and had prepared a plentiful dinner, to which all the productions of the neighbouring country had contributed. Sufficiency, though without luxury or elegance, diſplayed

played itſelf in all his ruſtic apartments. I remarked that one of the ſteps which led to them was a ſtone from among thoſe with antique inſcriptions in the ruins of ancient Saguntum; monuments never intended to be trodden under foot by the ignorant modern inhabitants of that city. Even they, however, applauded the happy idea of the corregidor; and their ſacrileges are expiated.

The wine of the environs of Murviedro is ſtrong and well taſted; but moſt of it is converted into brandy, which is put into barrels on the ſpot. Theſe are ſent to a ſmall port about a league from Murviedro, where they are there ſhipped for the North, or for Spaniſh America, which for ſome years paſt has afforded a conſiderable market for the brandies of the coaſt of Valencia.

In the evening I returned to Valencia, whence I departed two days after, and I muſt confeſs with great regret: I had

I had there found what might well engage a curious traveller to remain much longer; inſtruction and pleaſure. My viſit to Saguntum and the manufactures did not prevent me from aſſiſting at great dinners, country parties, concerts, and balls; and, notwithſtanding the auſterity of the prelate, at a private play repreſented by ſome of the firſt nobility, who in this capital are ſo blind to their own intereſt as to be the ſlaves of vanity by excluding merchants from their ſociety. They are puniſhed for this by the inſipid life they in general lead; to ſhake off which, in ſome meaſure, they conceived the deſign of repreſenting a Spaniſh tragedy. The count de Carlet was the only perſon among this ſomewhat too ſupercilious nobility, to whom I had recommendations. The count is a nobleman of Valencia, has travelled much, and in foreign countries acquired a taſte for the fine arts. He procured me the pleaſure of paſſing an hour at this repreſentation. I ſaw there the people of quality of

Valencia, and perceived it was much to be regretted that ſeveral of the fair ſex were not more frequently ſeen, and in a narrower circle. I cannot omit mentioning, with the utmoſt reſpect, the counteſs of Lumiarez, and the two mademoiſelles de Maſcarell.

In returning from Valencia to Madrid I would not take the road by which I had come. There was another, longer by ſeven leagues, but much leſs rugged and difficult. As it was not the poſt road, and as that mode of travelling had beſides been inconvenient to me, I hired one of the little cabriolets, called *Calezin*, ſo much in vogue in that country, and which, even in the ſtreets of Valencia, perform the ſame ſervice as our hackney coaches. I took my place in this humble carriage, after dining with the count of Carlet. His gueſts, as well as himſelf, ſhewed me, until the laſt moment, the moſt flattering politeneſs. I was accompanied to the diſtance of half a league from the city by five or ſix perſons,

perſons, one of whom was the king's lieutenant, M. de Cortes, an old man, equally amiable and reſpectable, who appeared to have honoured me with a diſtinguiſhed place in his eſteem, and ſeemed much affected when he took his leave. I continued to take the road to San-Felipe, ſtill enchanted with the beauties Nature has ſo prodigally beſtowed on this favoured country, and delighted with the kindneſs and cordiality of its inhabitants.

For ſix leagues I croſſed the richeſt country imaginable, by one of the beſt roads in Spain. The three laſt leagues to San-Felipe, are leſs agreeable than the former, but the nurſeries of mulberry and olive plants, interſperſed with fields of rice, continue to the environs of the city.

I did not arrive at San-Felipe until one o'clock in the morning, which obliged me to paſs the remainder of the night upon the boards in the kitchen,

ſurrounded by dogs and cats, and ſtung by inſects. I ſhortened this diſagreeable night as much as poſſible, and at four o'clock was ready to purſue my journey; but, before I departed, I had time ſufficient to viſit the city, known in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion by the name of *Xativa*. The city and ſuburbs occupy a conſiderable ſpace; yet the inhabitants amount not to more than ten thouſand. It is built on the declivity of a mountain, at the foot of two caſtles, which form an amphitheatre. This ſituation accounts for the long reſiſtance made by Xativa to the arms of Philip V. for which it was puniſhed by the loſs of its name and privileges. Among the churches of San-Felipe there is one intirely new, which has a better appearance than many cathedrals. San-Felipe has alſo a great number of fountains that would embelliſh even the moſt conſiderable cities.

I now took leave of fine roads and rich countries, and ſoon travelled between

tween uncultivated and depopulated hills, ſeeing nothing either to the right or left but a little hemp and corn. After three leagues of unequal road, by turns over ſtones and a greaſy ſoil which the leaſt rain diſſolves, I arrived at the *Venta del Puerto*, a miſerable village, fourteen leagues from Valencia, and upon the confines of the kingdom of Murcia, which I had heard ſo much extolled. From this point the view is confined on all ſides by ſterile mountains, croſſed by the road to Almanza. After having travelled half a league, I diſcovered this place, at the extremity of a vaſt plain, famous for the victory which inſured the throne to Philip V. This plain is well cultivated, and its fertility ſeems to increaſe as we approach Almanza. It produces corn and hemp. There is a tradition at Almanza, that the years immediately ſucceeding the battle, which has received its name from that place, were extremely fertile; a ſad compenſation for the deſtruction the victory had occaſioned to the human ſpecies.

The conquerors and the conquered, heaped upon each other on the field of battle, fattened the ſoil, the ſcene of their victory or defeat, and increaſed, by their death, the fertility of the country they had ravaged during their lives. About the diſtance of a cannon ſhot, on this ſide Almanza, is a ſocle, which is aſcended by a few ſteps, and bears upon its four ſides Latin and Spaniſh inſcriptions, relative to the victory gained by the Marſhal Berwick. Above the ſocle riſes a little pyramid, upon which was formerly an armed lion. As the pyramid is placed cloſe by the ſide of the great road, the people of Valencia had continually before their eyes an upbraiding token of their rebellion, and, with ſtones, beat down the lion which ſtill ſeemed to threaten them. The ſmall ſtatue the pyramid now bears, was ſubſtituted to the lion. To eterniſe a victory like that of Almanza, a more magnificent monument would be to be wiſhed for.

Al-

Almanza is only a ſpacious village with wide ſtreets, and low but handſome houſes. Its induſtry is confined to the weavers, who indeed are numerous: the hemp grown in the neighbourhood is not ſufficient for their employment. To the north of the village are the ruins of an old inhabited caſtle, and to the weſt, at about a quarter of a league from Almanza, is an irregular mountain, of ſuch a ſhape, that at a diſtance the traveller is inclined to take it for an enormous intrenchment.

The roads which lead from Almanza are bad, acroſs a ſtony country, wild, and covered with heath; this is another not very pleaſing part of the kingdom of Murcia. For about a league the road runs by the ſide of a wood of *Caſcarrales*, large trees, the fruit of which is a long huſk, full of a kind of coagulated juice, and given as a treat to the cattle of the country. A little farther on I croſſed a wood of green oaks, (*Encinas*) which produce the *bellotta* or

acorn, a fruit formerly precious to our anceſtors, and which, in the preſent age, is not too vulgar for the delicate taſte of the Spaniſh ladies. It is true the acorn of theſe green oaks ſenſibly differs from that of the common oak (*Robles*). It is leſſer, and has a taſte a good deal like that of a hazel nut. The other kind of acorn, which in Spain has the ſame bitterneſs as in other countries, is employed for the ſame purpoſe as elſewhere.

Two leagues from the little village Del villar, is the *Venta del Rincon*, a ſolitary inn, but tolerably good, although ſituated in a barren ſoil. A league farther on we perceive Chinchilla, a town on a barren eminence, but which commands the ſpacious and fertile plains of la Mancha. As we approach Albacete the ſoil gives ſufficient indications that they are near. This town, ſituated thirty leagues from Valencia and Alicant, is a quarter for cavalry, and has in its environs fields of wheat, barley and ſome paſtures.

About

About half a league from it is a tolerably handſome aqueduct, the road leading to which is the favorite walk of the inhabitants.

Albacete covers a conſiderable ſpace of ground; it is a place much frequented by travellers, and eſpecially by people in buſineſs. Its induſtry is exerciſed on the iron and ſteel brought thither from Alicant. The manufactures of Albacete will not for a long time be prejudicial to the hard-ware of France and England; but they are at leaſt ſufficient to baniſh from the city idleneſs and poverty, and to give to the inhabitants an appearance of opulence and activity, which pleaſes the eye of the traveller, fatigued with croſſing a barren and wretched country.

From Albacete, after having paſſed through two extenſive villages, La Gineta and La Roa, I arrived at Minalla, another large village, ſo unprovided that I found nothing I could purchaſe to eat, not even

even bread; of which each individual bakes as much as is ſufficient for his own wants, and has none to ſell. The nine leagues of road from Albacete to Minalla lie acroſs a vaſt plain which, not being well cultivated, produces only a little corn and ſome ſaffron. The inhabitants, however, though in all other reſpects without induſtry or activity, feed numbers of thoſe impure animals proſcribed by the law of Moſes, and which poetry dares not name without a periphraſis.

I went in the evening to Al Provenzio, where I ſlept. This is a town rather conſiderable; the cultivation of ſaffron is the principal employment of the inhabitants. At Al Provenzio I met with a French baker, who was delighted at hearing me ſpeak his own language, which inſpired him with ſufficient confidence to induce him to make his complaints to me of the perſecutions he ſuffered, and to requeſt me to lay them before the miniſter. Although he had long been married and eſtabliſhed in the country,

try, he never had been able to expiate the crime of being a Frenchman; he was looked upon with a jealous eye, and ſeverely treated: his great and unpardonable fault was, making better bread than the other bakers. Thus, in every ſituation, envy accompanies and embitters ſucceſs. I adminiſtered to the poor baker all the conſolation my humanity could ſuggeſt: and, for a few comforting words and vague promiſes of uſing my credit in his favour, I received his benedictions and the effuſions of his gratitude.

Beyond Al Provenzio the ſoil becomes better; I croſſed well cultivated lands, and paſſed througn two villages. Pedronera, in which there is a manufactory of ſaltpetre, and La Mota well ſituated in no very deep valley. This village is commanded by an eminence upon which are twelve windmills, which appear as if ranged in order of battle. According to their poſition, relative to the two villages, Quintanar and El Toboſo, which owe all their renown to the immortal

tal Cervantes, I doubted not but theſe windmills were thoſe on which Don Quixote made his firſt eſſay in chivalry. I ſurveyed the extenſive plains which had been the ſcene of his adventures. I was only a league from El Toboſo, the birth place of the fair Dulcinea; and by making a little circuit, might paſs through this village, which the lively pen of Cervantes has almoſt nearly rendered equal in fame to the greateſt cities hiſtory has celebrated. I ſeemed to ſee the ſhades of this great man, and of his hero wandering in theſe fields. To have gone out of the way about half a league would have completely gratified my curioſity; but my conductor, who was but little verſed in literature, and like la Fontaine's ſtag, *not accuſtomed to read*, did not partake of my curioſity: I was obliged to content myſelf with diſcovering, from the great road, the ſteeple of El Toboſo, the little wood in which Don Quixote waited for the tender interview to be procured him by his faithful ſquire, and the houſe in which

which Dulicinea received his amorous meſſage.

Full of the ideas which theſe romantic plains called to my recollection, I paſſed through Quentavar, and arrived at Corral, a large village within nine leagues of Aranjuez.

It was to this place that one of the fine roads of Spain, for which the kingdom is indebted to the Count de Florida Blanca, had been brought, and which has ſince been further continued. No road can be more ſtraight, ſolid, or better formed. It begins at Aranjuez, and, croſſing Ocana, advances into la Mancha, within ſixteen leagues of the capital. Thence to Madrid the road is as fine as any in Europe; but this barren, naked and ill peopled country yet remains to be rendered flouriſhing; the induſtry of the inhabitants, crowded together in the great villages, at leaſt three leagues from each other, without ſo much as a hamlet, farm or thicket, in the interval which ſeparates

ſeparates them, is yet to be excited; and commodious aſylums to be built for travellers, who in croſſing the extended and burning plains, frequently ſtand in need of ſhade, refreſhment, and repoſe. Theſe conveniences are wanting on all the roads in Spain: to furniſh them is a taſk worthy of the intelligent zeal of the Count de Florida Blanca, who has for ſeveral years paſt dedicated the leiſure of peace to this beneficent purpoſe.

At the time of my return from Valencia, this miniſter was ſeriouſly employed in eſtabliſhing ſtage carriages. Until then, the only manner of travelling expeditiouſly was on poſt horſes; and thoſe whoſe age, ſex or ſituation would not permit them to travel in this dangerous manner, were obliged to be ſlowly dragged in the carriages of the country, drawn by ſix mules, the only animals uſed here to draw. Theſe carriages, called *colleras*, go eight or, at moſt, ten leagues a day, ſo that the journey from Cadiz to Bayonne, a diſtance of an hundred leagues, took up

up at leaſt three weeks. The Count de Florida Blanca perceived that one means of giving new life to the country, was to render communication more ſpeedy and eaſy. He therefore conceived the project of making roads, building inns, and eſtabliſhing poſt horſes. The expences and difficulties of the late war retarded the execution of the plan; and, even ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of the peace, it has been but ſlowly and gradually executed*. The four principal roads, thoſe from Madrid to Cadiz, to Barcelona, to the frontiers of France, and to Portugal, were firſt attended to by the miniſter; and among theſe that which eſtabliſhed a communication between the two moſt eminent cities in the kingdom required the preference; for which reaſon, the firſt cares of the Count de Florida Blanca were

* I have been informed that, ſince my departure from Spain, there are diligences eſtabliſhed on ſome of the principal roads, among others, from Bayonne to Madrid, by which means the journey may be performed in ſix days.

dedicated

dedicated to it; and towards the end of 1784, travelling in a poſt-chaiſe from Madrid to Cadiz, was already commodious, at leaſt in fine weather; for the roads of Andaluſia have ſtill need of much repair, not to be impaſſable after long rains.

In the year 1785, I was one of the firſt who made uſe of the new convenience to croſs this famous Province, and to viſit one of the moſt celebrated ports in the world.

From Aranjuez, I firſt went to Ocana, a little city upon a riſing ground, which inſenſiby lowers as we approach Guardia, diſtant from it three leagues. In 1785 Ocana contained nothing remarkable, but a riding ſchool, which flouriſhed under the direction of lieutenant-general Don Antonio Ricardos, and furniſhed the Spaniſh cavalry with able officers, when the count, for reaſons of which I will not pretend to judge, thought proper to ſuppreſs it.

On

On leaving Ocana the eye embraces a vaſt plain perfectly level, which gives ſome previous idea of thoſe of la Mancha. As we approach this province we meet with frequent groups of olive trees. All Guardia, except the church, appears at a diſtance like a large heap of ruins. Tembleque, which is two leagues from it, has not a bad appearance, nor is it deſtitute of induſtry. Silks are woven there from the raw materials brought from Toledo. The neighbouring country alſo produces a little ſaltpetre: this, however, does not embelliſh the environs.

The firſt ſtage after Tembleque, is a little ſolitary houſe, called Canada de la Higuera: this is the moſt miſerable inn upon the whole road. I found nothing there but water, which, for want of a glaſs, I was obliged to drink out of the pitcher.

Two leagues farther on is Madridejos, a handſome village, on leaving which

the traveller is agreeably ſurpriſed to find, in the midſt of plains entirely without verdure, an alley of white elms, a few kitchen gardens, and ſeveral clumps of trees:—*Rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.*

This plain leads to Puertolapiche, a little village, near to which Don Quixote, at the beginning of his adventures, was dubbed knight-errant. It is ſituated at the extremity of two hills, over which are ſcattered a few orange trees. The hills gradually lower towards a kind of defile, where the vaſt plains of la Mancha become narrow for a ſhort ſapce, and afterwards widen and extend themſelves to the feet of the Sierra Morena.

Villalta is a village two leagues from the latter, where coarſe cloths are made with the wool of the diſtrict. Before I arrived there I paſſed a long and narrow ſtone bridge, badly kept in repair, on each ſide of which is a large moraſs covered

vered with ſtanding water and weeds. The traveller is not a little ſurpriſed when he learns that this ſpecies of marſh is the ſtream of the river Guadiana, which, at a little diſtance from the bridge, hides its lazy waters underground, afterwards appears again, croſſes Eſtramadura, then a part of Portugal, and forms, where it falls into the ſea, the limit between that kingdom and Spain.

From Villalta to Manzanares, one of the greateſt towns of la Mancha, are five long leagues; the carabineers have there one of their chief quarters, and in return for the plenty they diffuſe through the diſtrict, they ſomewhat violate, regardleſs of moral propriety, the rights of hoſpitality. They form the fineſt corps of the Spaniſh army, and their being fixed in la Mancha ſecures to that province the continuation of a fine race of ſubjects. Frederick II. in his political and military ſyſtem, would, perhaps, have commended a diſorder uſeful to his

views. Charles III. is certainly unacquainted with it; his virtue would never ſuffer him to tolerate an open violation of order and decency.

At a ſhort diſtance from Manzanares I croſſed the little river of Javalon, the waters of which, according to the plan adopted in 1785, are to be employed to effect a junction between the Tagus and the Guadiana. The wine of the environs of Manzanares is little inferior to that of Valdepennas, another town, four leagues from the former. All this diſtrict is the real good wine country of la Mancha. Santa Cruz, two leagues farther on, is the chief place of the eſtates of the grandee of Spain, who, ſince the laſt year, has been grand-maſter of his Catholic majeſty's houſhold. Two leagues from Santa Cruz, is the little village of Almoradiel, where, towards the ſouth, the vaſt plains of la Mancha terminate. I believe there is not a country in Europe leſs varied than that for twenty long and tedious leagues between Tembleque and

and Almoradiel. Nothing can be more undiverſified than the aſpect of this vaſt horizon: we travel three or four leagues without meeting with an human habitation to give repoſe to the wearied eye; we wander over fields, almoſt countries even, the cultivation of which does not appear lively, although the ſoil wants nothing but leſs aridity to become excellent. A few thin plantations of olive trees ſometimes interrupt the uniformity of the plain; fewer vineyards are found than we ſhould expect there when the great conſumption of the wine of la Mancha in Spain is conſidered. This province is not ſo uniform in its dimenſions as that we croſs from Madrid to Cadiz. To the weſt of Tembleque and Madridejos, there are wide valleys leſs dry than the plains. Every two years the king goes to take the diverſion of hunting in the environs of Yevenes, a village in the weſtern part of la Mancha, twelve leagues from Aranjuez, that commands a fine and very extenſive valley, in which is a vaſt number of olive plants, and on the other ſide,

the old caſtle of Conſuegra is ſeen on a chain of hills. The city of this name is at the foot of the caſtle. Here a Frenchman, M. Salvador Dampierre, of whom I have formerly ſpoken, eſtabliſhed, ten or twelve years ago, a manufacture of ſaltpetre, the ſucceſs of which anſwered not to his endeavours.

After leaving Almoradiel, we approach the Sierra Morena. A few years ago this diſtrict was the dread of travellers, who, therefore, when they were to croſs it, went more to the weſt, to gain the chain of mountains of the ſame name: paſſing by the town of Viſo, and thence croſſing the mountains, almoſt at the peril of their lives, in one of the ſteepeſt parts, called *Puerto del Rey*. M. le Maur, a Frenchman, who for a long time has been one of the corps of engineers in Spain, and whoſe talents languiſhed in oblivion, was choſen in 1779, by the count de Florida Blanca, to render practicable a road the moſt frequented of any in the kingdom. He has made it

one

one of the fineſt in Europe; it continues for ſix leagues, from Almoradiel to Carolina: at firſt it has an aſcent almoſt inſenſible; but the rocks of which this country is full, riſe ſtill higher; and the road paſſes through the windings they form. M. le Maur had no choice but that of carrying it through the valleys, which lie at their foot, or over their craggy tops. The hand of genius found a medium, and conducts the aſtoniſhed traveller along the ſide of the rocks. Thoſe which oppoſed his paſſage were either removed by the exploſion of gunpowder, or levelled by art and induſtry; ſome of them ſupport the ſame road to which they ſeemed to oppoſe invincible obſtacles, as conquerors overthrow the enemies of their glorious deſigns, and convert them into inſtruments to execute their will. By long circuits only, it is that art has gained this triumph; it called to its aid bridges, arched ſlopes, and walls breaſt high: feeble ramparts, behind which the traveller proceeds without danger or fear

upon the brink of an abyſs. In this manner he arrives at the *deſpena perros*, where the rocks approach each other ſo near that they ſeem to form a vault over his head. A brook runs through the valley; and its water will be of great aſſiſtance to the canal of which M. le Maur has drawn the plan.

About a quarter of a league beyond this maſs of rocks, is the poſt ſtage of *Las Correderas*, a group of ſolitary thatched cabins, in the boſom of the mountains. There is no difficulty in aſcending from this place to la Carolina, the chief town of the new ſettlement of the Sierra Morena. I have already obſerved, that the flouriſhing ſtate of this ſettlement is due to Don Pablo Olavide. The diſgrace of this illuſtrious man has been the cauſe of their decline; not that his ſucceſſor Don Miguel Ondeano has not the ſtrongeſt zeal and moſt excellent intentions: but beſides his not having the ſplendid talents of M. Olavide, and eſpecially that intelligent activity which animates

animates every place to which it is directed, he was deprived, during all the late war, of the hundred thoufand reals a month which the king aſſigned for the ſupport of theſe colonies; this ſuſpends indiſpenſible meaſures, the expences of which the intendant eſtimated, in 1785, at near four millions and a half of reals. Such were the building of a certain number of houſes, the repairing of ſeveral others which had been almoſt deſtroyed by the injuries of time, the eſtabliſhment of eight magazines of corn, the building of two new churches, of an oil-mill, of barracks, &c. all neceſſary to the progreſs of cultivation and population. Another ſource of the decline of this colony, the eſtabliſhment of which, notwithſtanding its defects, does honour to the reign of Charles III. is the taxes government is too much in a hurry to draw from it. The poor coloniſts, who do not cultivate a ſoil by much ſo fertile as at firſt it was thought to be, already pay to the king contributions for the wine, oil, brandy,

brandy, ſalt and even corn, which they conſume. It ſeems too much pains has been taken to prove to the court, that this eſtabliſhment, far from being long an expence to it, might in a few years reimburſe the advances made in its favour. Theſe different diſcouragements have made agriculture languiſh, and driven ſeveral families from the colony. However, as I paſſed through it, a well-informed perſon aſſured me the emigrations had ceaſed, and that in the little capital of la Carolina and the hamlets depending upon it, there were ſtill five thouſand and forty-four perſons. A part of the German families, which at firſt were numerous in the colony, have retired from it. Thoſe which remain aſſociate by degrees with the Spaniards; and at la Carolina they have no longer a prieſt among them who ſpeaks their language.

Guarroman, the firſt ſtage from la Carolina, is one of the principal places of the colonies of the Sierra Morena. It contains about a hundred and fourteen fami-

families, and continues to prosper. Corn and cattle are the principal resources of the colonists. From Guatroman we descend towards Baylen, near the confines of the Sierra Morena. Baylen is an ancient town, in the neighbourhood of which we find some of the finest horses in Andalusia.

The stage from Baylen to the *Casa del Rey*, is the worst upon the road. It is by turns sandy and rocky, steep and crooked, and the traveller would sooner go over it on foot than in a post-chaise.

At about a league from Baylen I remarked to the left a large *Venta*, M. Olavide had ordered to be begun, but which, since his disgrace, has been neglected, as if it had been subjected to the same anathema as its founder.

I afterwards passed the Rumblar, which a league farther on falls into the Guadalquivir, over a handsome stone bridge. At last I arrived at the *Casa del Rey*, a soli-

ſolitary inn in the middle of the woods. Here I began to perceive the Guadalquivir, at which I arrived, at a little diſtance from Anduxar. The whole road from Guarroman to this city is planted with olive trees; and their pale and gloomy foliage is the only verdure ſeen in that interval.

Anduxar has a good appearance; its environs are agreeable, and ſufficiently indicate the neighbourhood of a river. The Guadalquivir runs at a little diſtance from the walls of the city. It has long been intended to make it navigable here; but the firſt thing neceſſary to be done is to pull down three mills which obſtruct its courſe, and extend almoſt from one bank to the other.

From this city the road lies over two bridges, ſeparated by an old and very maſſy gate, and afterwards runs by the ſide of a long plantation of olive trees. It then continues over a ſteep hill, and, after a ſtage of three long leagues and a half,

half, brings you to *Alden del Rio*, a village upon an eminence, on the bank of the Guadalquivir. Its ſituation is delightful, and the inhabitants ſeem happy, and not ſo poor as thoſe of the reſt of the diſtrict. They manufacture ſome courſe cloth with the wool they gather. I found there excellent water melons, for which the Luculluſes of Paris would, in the heat of the dog-days, have paid a guinea each, although they were ſold to me at five-pence.

The road from this village runs near the Guadalquivir to that of Del Carpio, ſituated upon a ſteep hill, and commanded by an old caſtle, which, as I was confidently informed, was built before the time of the famous Bernard del Carpio.

From this place to Cordova is five long leagues. This ancient city, celebrated for having been the native place of Seneca and Lucan; the reſidence, during ſeveral centuries, of the Mooriſh kings,

moſque to the worſhip of the true God, added no embelliſhments. They have ſomewhat leſſened its dimenſions by the principal chapels; the ceiling of one of which ſeems to be preſerved as it was in the time of the Moors.

By the ſide of the cathedral is a court, the precious remains of the reſidence of the Moors at Cordova. It is planted with orange trees, the ancient and tufted foliage of which ſerves as an aſylum to great numbers of birds, and covers, with its ſhade, ſeveral fountains, which render the air conſtantly cool. I ſhall not ſoon forget the ill reception I met with in this city. If I had formed my opinion of the character of the people of Cordova like the Engliſhman, who paſſed a night at Blois, and judged of all the inhabitants by the woman of the inn where he ſlept, I ſhould have conceived a very indifferent idea of their urbanity. I had entered the cathedral without difficulty; but whilſt I was numbering the columns, and eſtimating its dimenſions, the few perſons I had found

found there retired, and the different doors I had obſerved were ſhut; none but that which opens to the fine orangery of the Moors was left unlocked: I went to it to go out. But what was my ſurpriſe at being addreſſed by two beadles, who reproached me, without much ceremony, for the time I had loſt in *ſurveying*, as they called it, their church, as if that had been the proper time to remain there. I repreſented to them mildly (for this was not the moment to be refractory) that as I was a ſtranger in Cordova, I could not know that noon was an improper time to be in the cathedral. It is well for you, replied they harſhly (for mildneſs often encourages inſolence) that theſe two dogs (ſhewing me the animals) which are kept to guard the church, did not ſee for you; in that caſe you would have made your eſcape much quicker than you came in, as they would not have given you time to count the pillars. While going out, by a door in the court, which they rather unwillingly opened to me, I expreſſed my aſtoniſhment that the ſtrange office of

driving the faithful from the houſe of God, ſhould be conferred upon dogs. But my travelling dreſs had nothing in it which commanded reſpect; and my remonſtrance could have had no effect; which I cannot but regret on account of thoſe who may go thither in future.

The exterior appearance of this cathedral has in it nothing extraordinary. It preſents a maſſy and irregular building with enormous ſquare pillars. In the city, we perceive no traces of that activity which accompanies induſtry, although there are manufactures of ribbons, laces and hats.

From Cordova to Eccija is a diſtance of ten leagues, acroſs a fine well cultivated country, with ſeveral plantations of olive trees. On this road the traveller firſt changes horſes at *El Cortejo del Mango Negro*, a ſolitary farm-houſe, which I found ſurrounded with cows, where, however, it would not have been more difficult to find a glaſs of nectar than a baſon

baſon of milk. The people of the country told me, it *was not the cuſtom* to milk the cows.

La Carlotta, a handſome new built village, is three leagues from this ſtage. The foundation of la Carlotta was nearly at the ſame time, and had a like object with that of la Carolina. It is the chief place of the new ſettlements of Andaluſia. The intendant who preſides over them, as alſo over thoſe of la Carolina, was at la Carlotta when I arrived there. I went to viſit this reſpectble man, whom I had known at Madrid. I greatly admired the beauty of his apartments; but could not but call to mind, what I had frequently heard obſerved, that it was by ſuch beginnings, that in Spain, moſt ſuch projects failed. La Carlotta is delightfully ſituated in the center of an open country, where olive trees ſucceed remarkably well. It is not ſo large as la Carolina, but more ſo than a third ſettlement of the ſame kind, called la Luiſiana, three leagues beyond Eccija. There are at moſt but a hundred and fifty fami-

lies in this colony, and the cultivation of grain is almoſt their only reſource.

Between theſe two colonies, and four leagues from the former, ſtands Eccija, a pretty large town, well built, and one of the handſomeſt in Andaluſia.

The road to it from la Carlotta is pleaſant; it croſſes a well cultivated country, abounding in plantations of olive trees and villas. Farm houſes and oil mills are ſeen ſcattered over the whole horizon.

On the other ſide of Eccija the land is leſs cultivated. Leaving the town I obſerved, at no great diſtance, an obeliſk in a bad ſtyle. I afterwards paſſed the Xenil, over a handſome bridge.

The ground gradually lowers after leaving la Luiſiana. The little farm houſes, which make a part of this new colony, are continued near the great road, at ſmall diſtances from each other, for half

half a league; ſome of them are inhabited by German families, who, happily for the thirſty traveller, are acquainted with the cuſtom of milking cows.

Soon after I had left la Luiſiana, I perceived, at a diſtance, ſome of the houſes of Carmona, which from this ſide has no very promiſing appearance; it is, however, a conſiderable town. The ſteeple of the principal church is of a ſingular ſtructure. It is a high tower, which gradually inclines to and terminates in a ſteeple, and upon which are placed the moſt whimſical ornaments of architecture. This modern toy proves that true taſte has not yet penetrated into that part of Spain. It certainly has not had the ſanction of the academy of San Fernando.

From Carmona to Seville is ſix leagues, during which you once change horſes. The country is level and covered with olive trees. I had only one afternoon

to dedicate to the remarkable things of the ſecond city in Spain. A very obliging Frenchman, to whom I was recommended, gratified the wiſhes of my impatient curioſity.

We firſt viſited the tobacco manufactory; a prodigious eſtabliſhment, as well for the ſize of the edifice as the number of hands employed in it. We ſaw the tobacco in leaves as it comes from the Havannah, where but a ſmall quantity is manufactured, the manner of raſping it, that of preparing the kind of ochre (*almazarron*) with which it is mixt to give it a colour and oilineſs; the manner of making this mixture, and that of forming the little rolls of it, called *Cigarros*, the conſumption of which is ſo conſiderable in Spain. We went through the ſeparate chambers in which the different kinds of tobacco are kept labelled, and ready to be ſent to the different provinces of the kingdom. It would be difficult to find in ſo ſmall a ſpace more activity or a greater variety of occu-

occupations. This manufacture is one of the moſt abundant ſources of revenue to the ſovereign. The annual produce to the treaſury is eſtimated at twenty millions of livres (above eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling).

We afterwards went to the foundry of copper cannon, which, with that of Barcelona, ſupplies all the Spaniſh arſenals in Europe. The method of M. Maritz is ſtill followed there, with ſome trifling variations. I obſerved, with pleaſure, the ingenious machine with which the cannon are bored, after having been caſt ſolid.

From what I could learn relative to this foundry, I concluded, that either from negligence or diſhoneſty in the people employed, there was room for a conſiderable ſaving in the expences. Six thouſand quintals of copper from Mexico and Peru are annually refined at Seville, and each quintal of refined copper coſts the king about fifty reals

(ten ſhillings and three-pence). A little before I arrived at Seville, a Frenchman propoſed to the king a method which would have made a ſaving of twenty-two reals a quintal. But either from a ſervile attachment to old forms, a prejudice againſt the nation of the propoſer, or other leſs innocent motives, the propoſition was rejected. The Frenchman was not diſcouraged; he refined a quantity of copper, and caſt a few pieces of cannon according to his own method. The proofs, at which the Spaniards vouchſafed to be preſent, that they might not too openly betray their unwillingneſs to adopt the propoſal of the ſtranger, ſhewed the cannon to be of an excellent quality: but intrigue, which was not idle on this occaſion, found means to prevent the experiment from being any further proſecuted.

Leaving this foundry, we viſited the fineſt parts of Seville. We walked along the banks of the Guadalquivir, which the late intendants of Andaluſia, Meſ-

ſieurs

CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE, WITH THE GIRALDA.

ſieurs Olavide, Domeſain and Lerena, were at great pains to embelliſh. I could not but admire the large open ſpace facing the ſuburb of Triana, a conſiderable part of the city, from which it is ſeparated by the river. Some principal buildings adorn, to a certain diſtance, this part of the banks. In the interval between the former and the Guadalquivir, M. Lerena had begun to form a walk, which his promotion prevented him from finiſhing. M. Olavide was ſtopped by another cauſe in his projects of embelliſhments. Seville, however, is indebted to him for a part of its quays, ſome eſtabliſhments, ſeveral handſome edifices, and a long alley of trees which are planted by the ſide of the Guadalquivir, beyond the walls of the city. In ſpite of the anathemas of the inquiſition, he will not ſoon be forgotten by the inhabitants.

To judge of the whole of Seville, we went up to the *Giralda* (the name given to the ſteeple of the cathedral) by a ſpiral

a ſpiral aſcent without ſteps. The cathedral is a vaſt edifice, and one of the fineſt gothic monuments which remain. The ground, on which Seville ſtands, ſeemed to us nearly as extenſive as the city of Madrid itſelf.

I did not forget to ſeek for the tomb of Chriſtopher Columbus, before the choir of the cathedral; it is diſtinguiſhed by one ſtone only which bears theſe words *A Caſtilla y Arragon otro mundo dió Colon* *: a laconic inſcription in the true lapidary ſtyle, to the full as expreſſive as thoſe pompous ones with which high ſounding rhetoric, bribed by vanity, loads the mauſoleums of ſo many uſeleſs perſonages, without being able to preſerve them from oblivion.

I knew that Seville was the native place of the famous painter Murillo, and that his principal works were preſerved

* To Caſtile and Arragon Columbus gave another world.

there.

there. I found them in the capuchin convent and the hoſpital of charity.

In the convent I was particularly delighted with a Chriſt who looſens himſelf from the croſs, with an expreſſion of the moſt affecting ſweetneſs, to embrace Saint Francis.

In the hoſpital are ten paintings by Murillo, all of which equally claim attention. That of Moſes bringing water out of the rock excited my admiration; as did alſo thoſe of the return of the prodigal ſon, and Saint Elizabeth curing ſeveral young perſons about her of a loathſome diſeaſe.

I viſited the Alcazar of Seville, formerly the palace of the Mooriſh kings, and the mint, two neighbouring edifices, each remarkable in its kind. The Alcazar is very ſpacious, but irregular: the mint is the moſt ancient in Spain.

The

The environs of Seville appeared like thoſe of the other cities of Andaluſia, tolerably well cultivated. I remarked in them, what is very rare in Spain, orchards and ſeveral villas.

In the ſpace of ſixteen leagues, which ſeparates Seville from Port Saint Mary, nothing engaged my attention except the handſome town of Xerez, the environs of which produce the excellent wine of that name, and contain the richeſt Carthuſian monaſtery in Spain. This ſouthern part of Andaluſia is covered with vineyards, corn fields, and olive trees, but the cultivation was what did not particularly ſtrike me. I croſſed ſome barren parts of this diſtrict which did not bring to my recollection the boaſted beauties of the ancient Bætica

The road from Xerez to Port Saint Mary begins on an uneven ground, and terminates in the middle of ſands. Theſe continue until we arrive at Saint Mary, a handſome town, almoſt wholly new built,

A *Port St. Mary*
B *Puerto Real*
C *Isle de Leon*
D *Rota*
E { *Fort Matagorda* / *Puntale* } *one of the*
F { *Fort San Lorenzo* / *Puntales* }
G *Santi Banez*
H *Point de la Cantera*
I *La Carraca*
K *San Pedro River*

Galeta
Galera I
Cochinos I
Piscinas I
Fridera I

built, with wide ſtreets in ſtraight lines. It is properly the reſidence of the captain-general of Andaluſia; but count O'Reilly, who then held this government with that of Cadiz, reſided in the latter. He obtained leave, a few years ſince, to remove the military ſchool, which he founded, when governor of Madrid, to Port Saint Mary. Thus having it under his eye, he began to revive it from that ſtate of languor to which his abſence and the war had reduced it, when he was diſmiſſed from the two important employments he held in that country.

The bay of Cadiz is firſt ſeen from the top of a hill, half way from Xerez to Port Saint Mary. The proſpect is beautiful, eſpecially to thoſe who have previouſly ſeen plans of that ſpacious bay. From the eminence the eye ſurveys the whole, as in a large map; the two points which form the entrance of the bay are diſtinctly ſeen, the fort of Saint Sebaſtian on one ſide, and the town of

of Rota on the other. In front is the city of Cadiz, and we diſcover the narrow tongue of low land which ſeparates it from the iſland of Leon, and the almoſt ſemicircular bending of the bay to the Carraque, Port-Real and Saint Mary. Thus, no doubt, do provinces, chains of mountains, and the windings of coaſts and rivers appear to the eyes of birds when they approach the clouds and eſcape our ſight. Thus do grand and extenſive objects appear in their aſtoniſhing whole, and the ſucceſſion of their minuter parts to the bold rivals of the inhabitants of the air, the aerial travellers, whoſe intrepidity firſt awakened our rapturous applauſe, but whom we afterwards ſlighted in the ſame degree we had magnified. Poſterity will, perhaps, revenge them for our diſdainful levity, by immortalizing their names and improving their diſcoveries.

From Port Saint Mary, I had the choice of two roads; that which goes ſtraight to Cadiz in croſſing the Bay, and

and the other leading to it by land, paſſing by Port-Real and the Iſle of Leon. I preferred the former, and having hired, for ſixty reals, one of the large barks which the owners are ſo ready to offer to the ſervice of paſſengers, in leſs than an hour was tranſported by a favourable wind to the quay of Cadiz. Port Saint Mary lies near the mouth of the Guadalete which, by driving its ſands into the Bay, forms a bar not to be paſſed over without ſome danger, particularly in winter. The boatmen, whoſe intereſt it is to keep the paſſengers in fear, to which they render them tributary, never fail to exaggerate the danger; and in the moment when it is moſt imminent, recite a prayer, the price of which they afterwards demand by collecting contributions; but the moſt timid paſſengers, and even the greateſt devotees, have more confidence in the ſkill of their conductors than in the interceſſion of the ſaint they invoke.

I arrived at Cadiz at the time when that city, under the beneficent government of the count O'Reilly, experienced ſeveral kinds of changes. As his power was uncontrouled, he found no obſtacle too great for his activity to ſurmount. Cadiz owes to him its embelliſhment, augmentation and cleanlineſs; why cannot I add its ſecurity? But the vigilance of the count had not, in the year 1785, extended to this eſſential part of the police; and, at that time, murders were very frequent in the city.

If any thing can ſupply the want of that which inſures the peaceable exiſtence of the citizens, this omiſſion has been fully compenſated for. By order of the count the old houſes were pulled down, to give place to new ones regularly built; the ſtreets were paved, made ſtraighter, and conſtantly kept clean, and the waſte ground was covered with new houſes. The governor may be reproached even with exceſs of œconomy, with reſpect to this ground. In ſeveral triangular

triangular ſpaces houſes were built which, without convenience for thoſe who inhabited them, ſeemed to have no object but that of incommoding their neighbours. The count endeavoured to extend the confines of the city by gaining ſpace from the ſea. The ground upon which the cuſtom-houſe ſtands, and that adjacent, was formerly covered by the watery element, but this was anterior to the adminiſtration of M. O'Reilly. He meditated another project of the ſame kind. He wiſhed to take poſſeſſion of the ground of the Alameda, a walk by the ſea ſide near the bay, the trees of which bear the viſible marks of that neighbourhood. His intention was to build there, and to lengthen the ſpace, by raiſing to a level with it that part of the ſhore which runs towards the inner part of the city; and, on the outer bank of the new encloſure, he intended to plant a new alley of trees. But to effect this kind of miracle, funds were neceſſary, and ſtones and rubbiſh ſufficient to fill up the extenſive ſpace the count projected to gain upon the ſea.

I know not what has become of his project ſince his retiring from office. Waiting for a time favourable for its execution, he repaired a kind of rampart, called *la Muralla*, which commands the harbour, and formed a new baſon on that ſide of the quay, where merchandize from the Indies is landed.

He beſtowed much attention on the embelliſhment of the gate on the land ſide, which was formerly covered with briars, and ſerved as an aſylum for robbers. Under the adminiſtration of one of his predeceſſors, gardens were laid out, and ſeveral houſes built there. At the time of the diſpute relative to Falkland Iſlands, the puſillanimous governor imagining the place in danger, and the enemy near his gates, entrenched behind the feeble efforts of his induſtry, and deſtroyed the houſes, without obſerving that the ground on which they ſtood was wholly commanded by the battery from the land gate.

Under

Under the adminiſtration of the count de Xerena, predeceſſor to count O'Reilly, it was intended to rebuild them; but they did not acquire an agreeable form till the latter became governor. He extended the cultivation of the Iſthmus to the ſide of the great road which leads from Cadiz to the iſland of Leon, and opened the garden he made there by a railing. The example was imitated by the neighbours; ſo that for a quarter of a league from the land gate the road is bordered with ſimilar fences, which, by their uniformity, ſeem to belong to the ſame proprietor. The neighbourhood of the ſea, the heat of the climate, and the nature of the ſoil, the ſand of which it is not poſſible to cover with good earth above a certain height, are viſible in this cultivation; but it is not the leſs agreeable to ſee verdure, and gather flowers and fruits in a ſoil which ſo many circumſtances ſeem to condemn to ſterility. While walking in the garden of the aſſeſſor Mora, and that of the governor, which joins it, and viewing

all the rich productions of Andaluſia, the vines, mulberry and olive trees that flouriſh there, we forget the nature of the ground on which we tread, and the element by which it is almoſt ſurrounded. In time, theſe environs of the land gate will form a kind of ſuburb; a church is already built, a quarter of a league from the city, for thoſe who reſide in that neighbourhood.

But nothing does more honour to the zeal, underſtanding, and humanity of count O'Reilly than the Hoſpitium, which owes to him, if not its firſt eſtabliſhment, at leaſt the admirable form given it in the courſe of the year 1785. No foundation of the kind can be better directed; it provides, within the ſame edifice, ſuccour to every claſs of ſubjects who claim either the cares or inſpection of government; to the aged of both ſexes, to incurables, vagabonds, proſtitutes, the inſane, and children of both ſexes whom their parents are incapable of maintaining. Each claſs is placed in ſpacious

ſpacious and well aired apartments. Every perſon is furniſhed with food and employment according to his age and ſituation. Poor families find there an aſylum, and the number of individuals does not alarm the beneficence of government. Whilſt I was at Cadiz a poor widow came to the Hoſpitium to procure her five children to be received. However, to prevent abuſes, each *Alcalde de Barrio* (commiſſary of the quarter) was obliged to preſent, weekly, to the governor of the province, an account of all the perſons, of both ſexes, who in his quarter were in need of the ſuccours of charity, and intitled to receive them. The governor examined the ſtatement, and wrote his directions in the margin. He has often boaſted, with an air of ſatisfaction, in which benevolence was as ſtrongly depicted as ſelf-approbation, that in the ſeventeen diviſions of which Cadiz was compoſed, there were already fourteen, in which not one perſon who had a difficulty in gaining a livelihood, or was deprived of the ſuccours which

might render life ſupportable, was then to be found; and that in a little time he flattered himſelf with the hopes of entirely baniſhing idleneſs and miſery from the city. The good order conſtantly maintained in this inſtitution was the fruit of his continued inſpection. He paſſed there the greateſt part of moſt of his afternoons; he was well ſeconded by ſeveral citizens of diſtinction who, ſome from ſentiments of humanity, and others to make their court to him, diſtributed among themſelves the direction of the different apartments. Their preſence ſeemed to inſpire reſpect and confidence. The ſerenity that reigned in every countenance diſtinguiſhed this charitable inſtitution from moſt of the ſame kind, which, in general, preſent the image of confinement and wretchedneſs. Proſtitutes and the inſane are the only perſons deprived of liberty. Individuals of every other claſs go out in companies at certain hours. None but the aged and infirm are exempt from labour. Such as are capable

capable of working are moſtly employed in carding, ſpinning, and weaving the cotton imported from the colonies of America. In the month of September, 1785, there were more looms, &c. than hands to employ them. I ſaw a warehouſe full of ſtuffs manufactured within the eſtabliſhment; theſe were ſufficient to the conſumption of its inhabitants, and the governor had hopes that in a little time there would be a ſurplus, which would be another ſource of revenue to the inſtitution. When the count O'Reilly became governor, he ſaw the hopes of his predeceſſor realized, and added to this new revenue by the ſale of certain pieces of ground belonging to the city. The charity of the citizens alſo produces conſiderable contributions.

I left the Hoſpitium, which in ſo many reſpects deſerves our higheſt commendation, full of the greateſt admiration, which it would be impoſſible to expreſs with too much warmth, might we be-

ſtow ſo much praiſe on a man in diſgrace. I doubt not but the poſt of the count O'Reilly has been worthily filled in every reſpect; but will his ſucceſſors be generous enough to carry to the greateſt degree of improvement, an inſtitution of which they have neither had the pleaſure nor the merit to have been the founders?

The inhabitants of Cadiz are almoſt excluſively employed in commerce; this will eaſily be believed on obſerving the number of veſſels in the port, which commonly amount to ſix or ſeven hundred: though when I was in that city the number did not exceed three hundred. The bay is ſo ſpacious that there are moorings for the different veſſels according to their various deſtinations. The merchant ſhips, from the different ports of Europe, are anchored oppoſite the city. The whole ſpace which ſeparates them from the bank of the river is covered with numerous barks, boats, &c. continually employed. The veſſels for the Indian

trade

trade are anchored more to the eaſt, in the canal of Trocadero, formed by an iſland ſeen at low water; the entrance of the Trocadero is defended by two forts; the fire from which croſſes thoſe of the Puntal; one is the fort Matagordo, the other that of Saint Louis, built by Duguay-Trouin.

The handſome town of Saint Real is built at the further end of the canal; and the magazines, arſenals, and dock-yards for merchant ſhips are on the banks. A merchant dug a baſon there, and had ſo calculated the dimenſions as rendered it incapable of receiving any veſſels but merchantmen. However, when I was at Cadiz, it had juſt been purchaſed of him for the king, and preparations were making to form another not far from the ſame place.

The ſhips of the royal navy are anchored towards the eaſt ſide of the Bay, near the arſenals and magazines. The great ſpace theſe occupy, and which land

The Spaniards formerly obtained their hemp from the north, at preſent they are able to do without the aſſiſtance, in this article, of any other nation. The kingdom of Granada already furniſhes them with the greateſt part of the hemp they uſe; and, in caſe of need, they may have recourſe to Arragon and Navarre. All the ſailcloth and cordage I ſaw in the magazines at Cadiz were made with Spaniſh hemp; and the texture of the former appeared to me even, cloſe, and ſolid.

I found alſo in the arſenals of the Carraque, a great quantity of ſheets of copper; but it was all brought from Sweden or Trieſte. The Spaniards do not yet know how to refine copper well enough to uſe that from Mexico in bottoming their ſhips. Their firſt experiments of this kind were made at the beginning of the late war. When I left Spain, moſt of the Spaniſh frigates were copper bottomed; and preparations were making

making to ſheathe all the ſhips of the line.

We were ſhewn ſome caronades brought from England; but more inconvenience than advantage was found in this ſpecies of cannon.

The magazines of the Carraque appeared to me but moderately provided, particularly with maſts, rigging and timber. Until the preſent adminiſtration ſhips of war could neither be built nor refitted in the department of Cadiz; and, before they could be careened, it was neceſſary to lay them on a hulk. M. de Valdez, at that time ſub-inſpector of the Carraque, adopted the plan of forming there a baſon; and, ſince he became miniſter of the naval department, he has been very attentive to its execution. The nature of the ground ſeemed to render the thing impoſſible; it is a kind of clay which eaſily ſinks in, and ſeems to partake of the inſtability of the element with which it is ſurrounded and ſatu-

rated.

rated. It was in the moſt elevated part that a baſon was begun to be dug in Auguſt, 1785. I ſaw the piles driven, upon which a bed of ſtone was to be laid, and the miniſter hoped by this means to give the baſon a ſolidity againſt which every impediment ſeemed to conſpire. The engineers who directed the works ſcarcely dared to expect ſucceſs; their purpoſe ſeemed to meet new obſtacles daily: at each moment the want of conſiſtence in the ground deceived their efforts, and betrayed its inability to ſupport the heavy burthen intended to be laid upon it. Art and perſeverance, at length, triumphed over every difficulty, and in the year 1787, inſtead of one baſon at the Carraque, there were two for the building of veſſels of ſixty-four guns.

I went on board ſome of thoſe lying at anchor, and greatly admired their beauty and ſolidity. It is impoſſible to repreſs a ſigh on ſeeing theſe ſuperb works of human induſtry, when we reflect that their

their principal deſtination is to become the inſtruments and victims of a rapid and violent deſtruction, as if to annihilate them the ravages of time and the rage of winds and waves were not ſufficient. Thus man, the ſublimeſt creation of Nature, and whoſe faculties expand ſo ſlowly, after having cauſed ſo much ſolicitude to the authors of his exiſtence, is frequently ſnatched from their tenderneſs by ſome of the accidents to which he is perpetually expoſed, and which his paſſions have multiplied an hundred fold.

From the Carraque we returned by a road which engaged our attention. As we leave Cadiz, it is a quarter of a league wide, but afterwards becomes ſo narrow that at the diſtance of a league the tide waſhes the two ſides of the cauſeway, which ſeems to be boldly elevated above the abyſs of the ocean. The preſent cauſeway is another advantage for which Cadiz is indebted to count O'Reilly. He had confided this undertaking

taking to M. du Bournial, an engineer well verſed in the act of conſtructing bridges and cauſeways, whom he had ſent for from France to employ him in his military ſchool of Port Saint Mary. M. du Bournial has raiſed this road, and rendered it more ſolid; his ſucceſs gained him the acknowledgments of the city of Cadiz, and new marks of confidence in his talents.

M. Bournial was the perſon whom, in 1785, O'Reilly wiſhed to charge with the execution of a project, which could not but ſeduce the imagination of this governor, who, it is ſaid, is fonder of the wonderful * than of the public good. His object was to bring freſh water to Cadiz from the diſtance of eleven leagues. He and the engineer had calculated that

* I had added ſome other reſtrictions to the eulogium of this officer; I learned the particulars of them in Luiſiana, on the coaſt of Barbary and elſewhere. I afterwards heard of his diſgrace, and ſuppreſſed them entirely.

for

for two millions of piaſtres this apparent miracle might be performed; and in Auguſt, 1785, the count had received ſubſcriptions to the amount of one million two hundred thouſand piaſtres. I heard the pompous project diſcuſſed with great impartiality. Thoſe who approved of it reaſoned in this manner: a ſpring of freſh water is an article of the firſt neceſſity, eſpecially to a rich and populous city, which, like Cadiz, daily increaſes in both theſe reſpects. The water brought with ſo much labour from the fountains of Port Saint Mary, but imperfectly ſupplies the want of it in the city: in dry ſeaſons it has ſometimes been found inſufficient for the neceſſities of the inhabitants. Why ſhould this important city be longer expoſed to a ſcarcity ſo diſtreſsful, when it might be ſecured from it at a trifling increaſe of expence? The city annually pays ninety-ſix thouſand piaſtres for the precarious ſupply from the fountains of Saint Mary. No more than a ſum not exceeding two millions of piaſtres, that is, a capital, the

intereſt of which, at five per cent. is a hundred thouſand piaſtres, was required to procure it, an uninterrupted plenty. The moſt ſordid œconomy could make no objection to an expence of four thouſand piaſtres for a purpoſe of ſuch eſſential utility. Such is the queſtion conſidered with reſpect to the expence: let us now, ſaid the favourers of the plan, examine it in a political point of view.

According to the preſent ſyſtem of Europe, and the cloſe connexion between France and Spain, Cadiz is of the greateſt importance in the naval wars of thoſe powers: their fleets intended to act in concert in any foreign expedition muſt rendezvous at that port. Muſt it not therefore be abſolutely neceſſary to render the victualling, watering, &c. of ſuch fleets as eaſy and expeditious as poſſible? The canal would be highly ſerviceable for the latter purpoſe; inſtead of which, ſhips ready to ſail have often, during the war, been delayed twenty-

twenty-four hours, waiting to take in their water from Port Saint Mary.

The project beſides would not be difficult to carry into execution. M. Bournial had ſurveyed and taken the levels of the eleven leagues which the canal was to paſs; his plans were all finiſhed; he had calculated the extent within a fathom, and the expence to a piaſtre. He had diſcovered the traces of an old canal, dug by the Romans for the ſame purpoſe; and the bed of this might in a great meaſure be rendered of uſe to the new project, the completion of which would not be expenſive for above two leagues. Ought not the Romans, ſo ſuperior in many reſpects to modern nations, ſometimes to ſerve them as a model, and, among the latter, were any people more worthy than the Spaniards of being immortalized by their great and uſeful undertakings?

The opponents conſidered the project of the governor as one of thoſe ſplendid

but chimerical conceptions feducing to ardent imaginations, but in adopting which prudent perſons are ever extremely cautious. Cadiz, ſaid they, had, until then, received the freſh water neceſſary to the wants of the inhabitants from the fountains in the neighbourhood; why therefore ſhould it now be procured at a greater expence, when the ſupply, although brought thither with more art and labour, would not be more certain? It was well known what reliance ought to be placed on an eſtimate of an undertaking ſo vaſt and complicated. Who would anſwer that the author of the project would be well ſupported? That he would not be diſguſted with the obſtacles of every kind which he muſt meet? or that death might not ſurpriſe him before the completion of his work? Suppoſing even that he finiſhed the undertaking, who could ſay the ſtream from the ſpring, repreſented as inexhauſtible, might not be obſtructed in its courſe by ſome one of a thouſand accidents to which the ground it was to

be

be carried through, and the ſtone aqueduct by which it was to be conveyed muſt be expoſed? We allow theſe accidents may be provided againſt or repaired; but beſides that this conſtant vigilance is, as all will allow, an equivocal baſis, upon which the ſupply of a great city, with an article ſo neceſſary, ought never to reſt, the inhabitants would experience ſhort interruptions in the running of the water; and from that moment the benefit would become ſtill more precarious than that with which they had before been contented.

I was certainly an impartial hearer; but I ſaw, with concern, that the queſtion was in turns decided by partiality and prejudice, by adulation and jealouſy, by a blind fondneſs of novelty, and a ſtill blinder hatred to innovation. Thus it happens that projects are never weighed in any country by unbiaſſed reaſon, the paſſions of men conſtantly infeeble their judgment, and he who prides himſelf in

the eſtimation of the public, is frequently influenced without knowing it by ſome diſgraceful motive. Genius undertakes, conſtancy only executes, overcomes obſtacles, and deprives fortune of her caprice, and envy of its forked tongue. I know not what is become of the noble project of count O'Reilly ſince his retirement from office, or whether it will be numbered among the few which ſurvive their authors? May we hope that ſome generous citizen will be found who, adopting the bantling deſerted in the cradle, will generouſly beſtow on it the cares of a father.

An account of the commerce of Cadiz would alone furniſh ſufficient matter for a conſiderable work, and conſequently exceed the bounds I muſt preſcribe to mine. I ſhall therefore add but little, to what I have already ſaid, of the trade of Spain in general.

An idea may be formed of that of Cadiz, by knowing the number of veſſels

veſſels which annually enter and ſail from that port. This knowledge may eaſily be acquired by the liſt printed every week, as in all the great ſea-ports of Europe. In 1776, nine hundred and forty-nine ſhips from different ports entered that of Cadiz, of which two hundred and ſixty-five were French. In 1777, there entered nine hundred and thirty-five veſſels, two hundred and eighty of which were belonging to France.

The war which happened ſoon after ſlackened this activity, but the number of French ſhips entering Cadiz appeared in 1785, rather to have increaſed than diminiſhed. Formerly no French veſſel from any port more to the north than that of Calais arrived at Cadiz. Lately ſeveral have been diſpatched to Hamburgh and Amſterdam, and refreighted for Cadiz. To the advantages which already gave us ſome right to preference, we began to add that of navigating at almoſt as little expence as the Dutch;

but it ſeems we ſhall not long enjoy theſe favourable circumſtances.

The ports of France which have commercial connexions with Cadiz, are thoſe of Marſeilles, Havre, Rouen, Morlaix, Saint Malo, Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Nantes and Saint Valery. I have named them in ſucceſſion according to the degrees of intercourſe which they maintain with Cadiz; merchandize is annually ſent thither from Marſeilles to the amount of twelve millions of French money (five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling) of which ſilks and gold laces are the principal articles. The greateſt part of the cargoes ſent thither from Havre and Rouen conſiſt of woollens; and thoſe from Morlaix and Saint Malo, in linens; the ſales of which will hereafter be diminiſhed by the competition of thoſe from Sileſia, ſince, notwithſtanding our remonſtrances, we have for ſome time been deprived of the advantages we in this reſpect enjoyed. Linens are alſo a principal article in the few importa-

tions

tions from Nantes. Flour and bacon are the principal commodities ſent from Bordeaux and Bayonne, and the woollens of Amiens the chief contributions of Saint Valery.

The people who moſt abound at Cadiz are, firſt the Iriſh, and next the Flemings, Genoeſe and Germans. The Engliſh and Dutch are not numerous. There are many Frenchmen, but more among the workmen of every kind, and retail dealers, than among the merchants. There are, however, ſeveral commercial houſes equally reſpectable for their unimpeached reputation, great capitals, and extenſive credit. In proof of this aſſertion, it will only be neceſſary to mention the names of *Le Couteulx*, *De Magon*, and ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed houſes which divide their property and ſpeculations between Cadiz and their own country, and of which the individuals, after having advantageouſly paſſed ſeveral years at Cadiz, return to enjoy, in the boſom of their families, an affluence they have ſo well earned.

This

This ſpecies of coloniſts is truly valuable, and cannot be attached by too many ties to the mother country, which they doubly enrich by favouring the ſale of her productions, and returning to her loaded with the fruits of their uſeful induſtry. They form at Cadiz a ſociety which has its funds, aſſemblies and privileges, but to which the Spaniſh government has lately, from a jealouſy perhaps excuſable, created many difficulties.

The French are not the only objects of this ſuſpicious conduct, nor is it confined to Cadiz. All foreigners who are eſtabliſhed at Cadiz and in other commercial places of Spain, ought to enjoy particular privileges, which date from the period when the paſſive ſtate of Spain relative to commerce, made it neceſſary to purchaſe by ſacrifices the aid of their capitals and induſtry; but ſince the kingdom is awakened from its ſtupor, and that each citizen knowing his perſonal reſources, ſays to himſelf with

with a ſatisfaction which ſucceſs already juſtifies, *ed io anche ſon pittore**, he feels the yoke Spain impoſed on herſelf in leſs happy times; and the agents of government, ſure of a tacit approbation, employ, to ſhake it off, ſuch means as the rights of perſons do not quite approve of, and againſt which foreign merchants make complaints, ſometimes exaggerated; theſe means will in the end be ſanctified by continued infractions on one ſide, and forced condeſcenſion on the other, by which treaties will fall into diſuſe without ever being formerly aboliſhed. For it is upon treaties that the privileges of foreign merchants eſtabliſhed in Spain are founded. The moſt ancient treaty is that concluded with the Hans Towns, and which ſerved as a model to thoſe with the Engliſh, Dutch and French. The French, in general, more reſtleſs and exacting than other nations, whoſe activity and ſucceſs ſooner awaken

* The exclamation of Corregio—"And I too am a painter."

jea-

jealouſy, in whom the power of uſing is ſo near to abuſe, who know not how to flatter the weakneſs of thoſe with whom they are connected, are more expoſed to that kind of ſecret perſecution which foreign commerce experiences from the Spaniſh government. Their griefs become accumulated; their repreſentations are eluded by excuſe or totally diſregarded, and reparation is very rare or unſatisfactory. As in ſociety men perſerve their ill-humour and rigorous proceedings for their beſt friends, whilſt their attention is beſtowed upon indifferent perſons, becauſe from the former they have nothing more to gain, and they may loſe by the latter; ſo the Spaniards uſe, with reſpect to their allies, a ſeverity which they know how to ſoften to thoſe with whom they are not ſo nearly connected. The national character may alſo account for this difference. The moſt intimate connexions between courts are not ſufficient to cement national friendſhip; and thoſe which policy would unite are frequently ſepa-

ſeparated by Nature. There are people whoſe manners are leſs contraſted to thoſe of the Spaniards than ours; and theſe, in ſpite of treaties, and regulations will ever have the preference.

This is the text I frequently heard commented upon whilſt I was in Spain, and eſpecially at Cadiz. I only relate the fact, without ornamenting, or rather disfiguring it, by the colours of reſentment. I am almoſt arrived at the end of my work, and am determined to finiſh with that ſpirit of conciliation which induced me to take up my pen. Let us hope that laſting connexions, a reciprocity of generous communication, and particularly the conſideration of intereſt, the firſt ſpring in politics as well as ſociety, will conciliate and unite the characters of two nations which are ſo intimately connected with each other, and moderate the reciprocal grievances of which I have juſt given a ſlight ſketch.

It appears, however, that the commerce of the French, as well as that of other foreigners at Cadiz, approaches its decline. As a proof of this, I might mention ſeveral bankruptcies from misfortune, the withdrawing of ſeveral merchants, the diſcouragement of moſt of them, and the recent diminution of the number of French veſſels trading to Cadiz. This revolution was not wholly produced by the cauſes I have juſt indicated; it is alſo the conſequence of the extenſion of the commerce of the Spaniſh Indies to ſeveral other ports of the kingdom of Spain, of the activity of the Spaniſh merchants, excited by the wiſe meaſures of government, and of the recent part which ſome of the colonies have taken in a commerce in which they had for a long time been but paſſive inſtruments. Such is the fate of nations. The proſperity of one almoſt conſtantly enfeebles another. The beſt of all worlds would be that in which national ſucceſſes were ſo balanced that war, the human paſſions

and

and revolutions in empires, could not derange the equilibrium. The world which we inhabit ſeems in this reſpect eſſentially different.

The occupations which commerce offers to thoſe who inhabit Cadiz leave but few hands to induſtry. There are, however, about twenty ribbon looms and machines for knotting ſilk, none of which are much employed, and yet appear to have a conſiderable ſale for their produce. There are ſeveral manufacturers at Cadiz, whoſe chief employment is to apply their marks to the embroidered ſtockings they receive from Nîmes, and which, having undergone this ceremony, are ſhipped for the American colonies, where all foreign ſtockings are prohibited. Induſtry makes ſome efforts in the cities near Cadiz. There are at Port Saint Mary, the Iſle of Leon, and at Xeres linen manuafactures which are in a flouriſhing ſtate. No linens but theſe and thoſe of Catalonia can be ſhipped for the Indies; but

to

to judge how far the law is eluded it will be ſufficient to compare the quantity exported with that the manufacturers can furniſh. Cadiz is the real ſeat of fraud; and this will continually be the caſe wherever prohibitions are numerous, temptations to elude them frequent, and the profits conſiderable enough to be divided with thoſe who, having but a moderate ſalary to prevent ſmuggling, find their account in favouring it. This is chiefly exerciſed upon piaſtres, to elude the duty of four per cent. to which their exportation is ſubject; and the ſmugglers find the officers much more diſpoſed to convey them on board than to confiſcate them. This abuſe was carried to the higheſt degree when I was at Cadiz. The zeal of the new miniſter of finances became warm; a commiſſion of magiſtrates was ſuddenly ſent to Madrid to examine into it, and proceed againſt the authors. The examination was conducted with all the impartiality of juſtice. The fraud and peculation of the officers of the revenue were

were proved and puniſhed. The cuſtom-houſe of Cadiz underwent a total reformation; to *treacherous and corrupt* agents were ſubſtituted *heros of integrity*. Every thing was to be reſtored to order; ſmuggling was to expire under the ſtroke of authority and the eyes of vigilance; but theſe flattering expectations proved deceitful. Smuggling is a plant faſt rooted in the ſoil wherein it is naturalized; in vain is it plucked from the ground; roots which have eſcaped the vindictive hand of juſtice ſoon ſhoot forth new ſuckers. Thoſe who follow ſmuggling, like the rabbits of M. de la Rochefoucault, retire and conceal themſelves in the critical moment. As ſoon as that is paſt preſumptuous audacity returns to its old habits, and intereſt renews its claims. Wherever this is as powerful as at Cadiz, conſcience is ſilent; and the *heros of integrity*, encouraged by the hope of impunity, and excuſed by example, ſoon become as relaxed in their principles as their predeceſſors. Authority ſuppoſes it has formed virtuous men, when it has

only ſacrificed victims, which are firſt pitied and afterwards imitated.

But to return to the induſtry of Cadiz and the environs. At Port Saint Mary there is a wax refinery, through which all the wax ſent to America muſt paſs; it is, however, ſo badly purified and whitened there, that the merchants, preſſed to ſhip that which they receive from the north, chearfully pay to the officers of the refinery the two ducats at which each quintal whitened in it is taxed, and ſend it in the ſame ſtate in which it was received there.

I, muſt remark upon this occaſion, that the Spaniards of the Havannah were, a few years ago, upon the point of gathering wax enough for the whole conſumption of Spaniſh America. They owed this new production to a ſingular circumſtance, and have lately loſt it by another not leſs extraordinary. When Florida was ceded to the Engliſh, in 1763, ſome Spaniſh coloniſts flying before

fore the conquerors, and carrying with them their treaſures and their induſtry, had retired to the iſland of Cuba, and taken with them bee-hives, the bees of which had conſiderably increaſed and gave excellent wax; they were accuſtomed to the climate and ſeemed to be ſettled in the iſland; but they found in Cuba other perſecutors. The coloniſts of the Havannah, alarmed by the injuries they did to their ſugar plantations, lighted up fires to drive them off. This remedy ſucceeded ſo well that the iſland of Cuba, forſaken by the bees, has diſappointed the hopes all Spaniſh America had from it, and the colonies are again obliged to depend on Poland and Barbary for their ſupply of wax. The rage of conqueſt would certainly not long continue could the riches of the ſoil always thus eſcape through the air from the avarice of the conquerors?

The manufacture of ſalt is the moſt intereſting branch of induſtry in the environs of Cadiz. The ſalt-pits encom-

paſs a great part of the Bay from the Puntal to Port Saint Mary. I acquired ſome accurate information relative to the manner of working them; which may be compared to the mode adopted in our ſalt-marſhes.

In the firſt place, ſea water is introduced, by means of a little ſluice, into a large kind of baſon, cut into wide canals of equal depth. The water remains there a certain time, during which, its lighteſt parts evaporate by the heat of the ſun. From this firſt reſervoir it runs into other canals not quite ſo deep, where the ſame cauſe produces the ſame effect, volatilizing the lighter parts. The corroſive quality of the water which remains after this ſecond operation is ſo increaſed, that the workmen can no longer remain with their feet uncovered without burning them as with aqua fortis. The water, thus changed, is let into a long and narrow canal, which runs by the ſide of a ſquare ſpace, divided into quadrangular compartments, the

the inner of which is lower than thoſe at the edges. From this canal, where the water, paſſing through a third operation, becomes ſtill more corroſive, it is thrown with ſcoops into the ſmall baſons where it receives the laſt heating, while the workmen continually ſtir it with long rakes. The ſediment it depoſes becomes as hard as ſtone, and the workmen are conſtantly employed in detaching, taking it out, and pounding it. This continual agitation produces upon the ſurface a white ſcum, that is carefully taken off, and which produces a much whiter, but a weaker, ſalt than the ſediment. The reſt is laid in great heaps in the open air. The neceſſary quantity for the king's ſalt magazines is taken from theſe heaps, and paid for at the rate of two piaſtres the laſt of two hogſheads; but it is ſold again at a hundred and twenty piaſtres to individuals, excepting fiſhermen who have it cheaper. The ſalt manufacturers ſell what remains to them, after furniſhing the king's magazines, more or leſs dear according

to circumſtances; and as the rains of the autumn threaten them with conſiderable waſte, they loſe no time in ſelling; and, far from giving the law to purchaſers, they ſolicit orders from perſons who buy for exportation. The nations which carry it are Sweden, Denmark, Holland, England, and particularly Portugal, until lately, when the fear of the Algerine corſairs diſcredited their flag. The cargoes ſhipped by the Portugueſe are moſtly ſent to the coaſts of Galicia and Aſturia, where this commodity is wanted, and which they have long had the excluſive privilege of furniſhing with their own ſalt. The fiſhermen from Saint Malo, Dieppe and Granville ſometimes go to the Bay of Cadiz to take in cargoes of ſalt for Newfoundland; and, when the ſalt-pits of France fail, the French take large quantities of it for home conſumption.

Every individual who wiſhes to eſtabliſh one of theſe artificial ſalt-pits upon ground of his own is at liberty to do it.

He

He may ſell the produce to foreigners, but not to his countrymen, ſalt being in Spain, as in France, excluſively ſold for the king's account. Guards are placed round the heaps of ſalt, which at a diſtance appear like ſo many white houſes about the Bay; but the guards do not always ſecure them from thieves and ſmugglers.

Cadiz contains but few remarkable edifices or monuments of the arts. The cultivation of theſe ſuppoſes two claſſes of indolent people, which are never numerous in commercial and manufacturing cities; the claſs of profeſſors and that of *amateurs*. Arts proſper in proportion to the number of connoiſſeurs who encourage and ſupport them. The cathedral of Cadiz was begun in 1720. Whenever it is finiſhed it will be but a heavy maſs, defective in many reſpects. The groteſque mouldings of the Gothic architecture are joined to the ſimple taſte of the ancient orders; however, ſome of the interior parts are beautiful. The

eight columns of the choir are of Tortoſian marble of the firſt quality; thoſe of the nave, although a little heavy, are beautiful in their proportions. Their capitals, vaſes, and the ceiling of the cupolas, are excellently ſculptured.

Until the new cathedral is finiſhed, divine ſervice is performed in the old one, in which I remarked ſeveral little paintings in the Flemiſh ſtyle, and in a good taſte. There are a few much more valuable in the church of the capuchins. They are the maſter-pieces of Murillo; among them is an *Ecce homo*, in which the ſoft touch of that artiſt ſeemed to me to be united with the noble ſublimity which Guido knew ſo well how to give to his figures.

Among other edifices deſerving attention are the cuſtom-houſe, a new and ſpacious building, and the theatre, which is finiſhed with taſte and on an excellent plan.

Cadiz

Cadiz is ſurrounded with walls, which contribute more to its embelliſhment than to its defence. The fortifications on the ſide of the land gate are in a tolerable good condition. It is the only place where the city can be attacked by land. Fort Saint Catharine, to the north-eaſt, would not obſtruct the entrance into the great Bay; nor would Fort Saint Sebaſtian, which is rather more to the weſt, be of greater ſervice in its defence. It communicates with the city by an uneven ſandy ſhore covered at high water; the light-houſe which directs mariners when they enter the port, is placed upon the tower of this fort.

The paſſage from the great Bay to the road of the Puntal, is much better defended by two forts, one that of the Puntal, the other that of Matagordo, placed oppoſite each other, where the Bay becomes narrower.

I croſſed

I croſſed this kind of ſtreight, and, quitting Cadiz with the regret every perſon who has paſſed ſome time in that city muſt feel on the ſame occaſion, I embarked for Chiclana with ſome merchants who had treated me with the greateſt civility. I there experienced, for the ſecond time in Spain, that it is from this claſs of men, all things equal in other reſpects, that the beſt reception is to be expected. Eaſy circumſtances, multiplicity of connexions, and perhaps the neceſſity felt at every moment of cultivating or augmenting them (for what virtue is it that intereſt does not adulterate by its impure alloy?) ſeem to have beſtowed on this claſs of men more than any other thoſe precious ſocial qualities, affability and obliging manners. Theſe I met with, to the greateſt degree, from the foreign and Spaniſh merchants, but more particularly from the French.

The French conſul, M. de Mongelas, was not then at Cadiz: I was ſorry for it; and ſtill more ſo to obſerve, that he was

was heavily cenſured. I had found an opportunity to become acquainted with his excellent qualities, and ſhould have imagined that theſe, added to the amiableneſs of his lady, would have mitigated the rigour of the perſons who ſeemed to think moſt harſhly of him. In his abſence I was received by M. Poirel, the vice-conſul; and I can never ſufficiently acknowledge the attention I received from him, and all with whom he was connected. In general, there are few cities ſo agreeable as Cadiz, even to thoſe frivolous and contemptuous perſons of the French nation, who believe that once out of their country they can only vegetate. The agreeable and amiable qualities of the fair ſex renders a reſidence at Cadiz delightful; the ladies poſſeſs, to a very uncommon degree, the pleaſing exterior of the Andaluſians, modified by the ſociety of ſtrangers, who are there found in great numbers, and by that general deſire to pleaſe, which the refinements of ſociety and a concourſe of admirers maintain in continual activity.

tivity. They, however, ſeldom are betrayed into thoſe immoralities which their charms, the perpetual adulation to which they are expoſed, and the influence of climate might perhaps excuſe more here than in other countries. I remarked ſeveral young and handſome women entirely occupied in houſehold cares and the education of their children.

Pleaſures are not much varied at Cadiz. During ſome years there was a French comedy, which a reprehenſible adminiſtration ſuppreſſed in 1778. The only theatre at preſent is the national one, which rivals thoſe of the capital, and ſometimes is enriched by their loſſes. The ſituation of the city, which is but of a middling extent for a population of eighty thouſand inhabitants, and which the ſea almoſt ſurrounds, renders the pleaſures of public walks but very few. At a quarter of a league from the land gate, ſterility again appears, and continues for ſeveral leagues round, if a few kitchen gardens and ſome orchards in the

the neighbourhood of the iſle of Leon, where waterings ſupply the want of moiſture in the ſandy dryneſs of the ſoil, be excepted. The bull-fights are exhibited in the hotteſt months of the year. Cadiz is ſtill one of the few cities in Spain whence they have not been baniſhed, and it is not that in which the people are leaſt delighted with them.

The diſtance from Cadiz to Chiclana is four leagues: a favourable wind with the tide carried us over in two hours. Leaving the iſle of Leon to the right, and the Carraque to the left, we paſſed the bridge of Suaço, an ancient monument of the Romans, that joins the iſland on which Cadiz ſtands on the north ſide, and the iſle of Leon on the ſouth-eaſt, to the Continent. Under the arches of this bridge the Bay becomes ſo narrow that, after paſſing them, it is nothing more than a wide canal, which ſoon afterwards ſeparates into different branches. One of theſe leads to Chiclana, which is built on the right bank, commanded by

ſeveral

ſeveral eminences, and particularly by the ruins of an old Mooriſh caſtle. This branch of the canal is affected by the tide, ſo that ſometimes there is ſufficient water to cary large barks, and at others it is fordable.

Chiclana is a handſome village, where ſeveral merchants of Cadiz have country-houſes. They have embelliſhed and ſurrounded them with that verdure of which they are deprived in their chief reſidences. They frequently retire to them for relaxation from buſineſs; but Chiclana is particularly agreeable in the ſpring and autumn. The citizens of Cadiz carry thither, and enjoy for a time, all the luxuries of Cadiz; dinners, ſuppers, balls, concerts, all the diſplay of opulence, and every ornament of the toilette; it is, if I may ſo ſay, a theatre opened by luxury and taſte, in which the polite and amiable diſplay their charms, ſmooth the brows of the calculators who accompany them, and generouſly beſtowing unnumbered pleaſures oblige them to

to confeſs that there are things more precious than gold.

I went to the eminences which command this little valley of Tempe, whence we ſurvey the moſt extenſive and varied horizon. We ſee in one view the iſle of Leon, Cadiz, the Bay, all the places by which it is ſurrounded, and the ſea beyond it. The eye follows the courſe of the river Santi Petri till it falls into the ſea. Turning to the eaſt we perceive Medina Sidonia, whence comes the wind ſo dreaded by the inhabitants of Cadiz, becauſe it ſeems, by its pernicious influence upon many of the people, to blow into that city both crimes and diſorders. From the ſame point of view we embrace the vaſt plains of the ſouth part of Andaluſia, which I had to paſs in my way to Algeſiras and Gibraltar.

Algeſiras is fourteen leagues from Chiclana. I performed the journey on the ſame horſe in one hot day of ſummer, croſſing the moſt deſert country that

that can be found amongſt thoſe which are not quite uncultivated. Indeed I croſſed plains, to avoid circuits, which would have led me through ſome villages. But will it be credited that in all this road, except Vejer on the right at a conſiderable diſtance, and Medina Sidonia on the left ſtill farther off, I ſaw no other human habitations than four or five groupes of miſerable cabins, called *Cortijos*, in which labourers lodge a part of the year. This is the inconvenience of great poſſeſſions, of which the ancients, if we believe Plutarch and Pliny, were well aware, and on the ſubject of which modern politicians have endeavoured to miſlead us by preſenting us the exception for the rule. A more modern author ſays that, "Conquerors always "have found very feeble reſiſtance in "countries divided into great poſſeſ-"ſions." It appears that the ſouth part of Andaluſia will not be long a prey to them; but in the mean while, two ſcourges, idleneſs and famine, pollute, by their preſence, a tract of country which

which nature had produced in a moment of beneficence. It will ſcarcely be believed that I was nearly wanting bread in croſſing this province. I had neglected to provide myſelf with it at Chiclana. But I fortunately met in the fields ſome civil reapers, who permitted me to take half their proviſions.

For ten leagues I croſſed the duchy of Medina-Sidonia which, in this diſtrict, conſiſts of corn fields and paſtures. In no part of them was a veſtige of an human habitation. Not an orchard, kitchen garden, ditch nor tile. The great proprietor ſeems to reign there like the lion in the foreſts, by driving away by his roarings thoſe by whom he might otherwiſe be approached; and both therefore alike reign over deſerts. Inſtead of men and women, I met with ſeven or eight great herds of horned cattle and ſome troops of mares. On ſeeing them free from the yoke and bridle, wandering over an immenſe region unbounded to the eye by encloſure or

barrier, we are ready to imagine ourſelves in the firſt ages of the world, when animals in a ſtate of independence, divided with man the dominion of the earth, found every where their own property, and were not that of any perſon.

All Andaluſia, however, muſt not be judged of by this diſtrict; it appears not ſo much a deſert except in parts wholly ſet apart to corn and paſturage. It has been divided into great poſſeſſions as far back as the conqueſt of it by the Moors. The principal Caſtilian nobleman, who then accompanied the conquering kings, obtained enormous inheritances in perpetuity, according to the fatal cuſtom introduced into almoſt the whole of the monarchy. The extinction of males in the great families has encreaſed the inconvenience. Rich heireſſes carry with them their opulent portions into families not leſs opulent, ſo that this abſurd law of ſucceſſion is, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a vaſt tontine which ſooner or later will make the greateſt

greateſt part of Spain the inheritance of the few families which ſhall ſurvive the reſt. How can one individual manage ſuch eſtates? Theſe proprietors, therefore, farm them out to different perſons, but this for three years only, or five at moſt; too ſhort a term to permit the former to undertake the clearing of lands or any conſiderable improvement. Another circumſtance concurs with theſe deſtructive cuſtoms to prevent agriculture flouriſhing in Andaluſia. The land is divided into three portions; one is cultivated, another remains fallow, and the third is ſet apart to feed the cattle belonging to the farmer, and which he augments as much as poſſible, to reap what advantage he can from his ſhort leaſe. This is what gives an appearance of depopulation to vaſt diſtricts ſuſceptible of rich cultivation. The firſt improvement to be made in the agriculture of Andaluſia, would therefore be to grant longer leaſes. The example of Catalonia, Navarre, Galicia, and the Aſturias ſhould ſerve as a leſſon. There

the leaſes are for a conſiderable number of years, and cannot be broken by the caprice of the proprietors: every kind of cultivation is in a flouriſhing ſtate; each farmer creates himſelf a little eſtabliſhment, keeps cattle, and has round his habitation an orchard and kitchen garden; and while he procures himſelf conveniences, improves and fertiliſes the land which he is ſure to hold for a long time, as well as to be ſucceeded in his farm by his children. What a contraſt between this ſtate of things, and that I had before my eyes for ten leagues after leaving Chiclana!

At the end of theſe ten leagues the road lay through a wood, and afterwards acroſs an enormous chain of high mountains, which become not lower before they reach the weſtern part of the bay of Gibraltar. The four laſt leagues are exceſſively fatiguing, and even dangerous in ſome places. However, the traveller is well rewarded for his pains when, from the ſummit of the mountains, a league and a-half

53

V

a half from the bay, he perceives the famous rock of Gibraltar riſing from the boſom of the waves like the genius of the ſtormy Cape, which furniſhed to Camoens one of the fineſt epiſodes in his Luſiad. From this point, the eye commands the fortreſs, the outlines of which appeared to me perfectly well defined in the ſerene horizon. The rock preſents the form of an immenſe Catafalco ſeen on one ſide; at one view the eye embraces the town of Algeſiras, the whole circuit of the Bay, two little rivers which fall into it, the town of Saint Roche, placed upon an eminence, the ſlope which from this town leads to the lines, and the tongue of flat and narrow land, that ſeparates them from Gibraltar; and at a diſtance to the right, at the extremity of the horizon, we imagine, rather than diſcover, the coaſt of Africa.

Algeſiras, the boundary of my long day's journey, is a town agreeably ſituated on a gentle ſlope cloſe by the ſea ſide. A very little river (the Miel) which riſes

in the neighbouring mountains, waſhes the right ſide of Algeſiras, and gently runs on into the ſea; upon its right bank is a little dock yard, the dimenſions of which, although proportioned to the bed of the river, are ſufficient for the building of barks. It was made uſe of for the conſtruction of ſome of the gun-boats which made ſo poor a figure at the ſiege of Gibraltar. At the time of the freſhes, this river, or rather rivulet, has water enough to float the little veſſels to the ſea, which is diſtant but a few paces. Near this place are the ruins of the old citadel of Algeſiras, whence the Moors ſtill defended themſelves for ſome time after their city was taken. This filled the ſame ground as the modern town of the ſame name. Algeſiras, as well as Saint Roche, was peopled at the beginning of the preſent century with Spaniards from Gibraltar, who would not live under the dominion of the Engliſh. In order to draw thither the refugees, the privileges Algeſiras now enjoys were granted. The Spaniards are ſeparated from

from their old country by two leagues of ſea, in which, during the late war, ſeveral of them found their tombs, while endeavouring the conqueſt of the native place of their forefathers.

The little iſland of Palomas, called alſo the Green Iſland, is within a muſket ſhot of Algeſiras: it has a fort in which a company detached from the garriſon of Algeſiras does duty. This Iſland is ſo fine and regular, that it ſeems to have been traced by art, and placed there until ſome perſon of taſte can find a ſituation for it in a garden.

Algeſiras is watered in a manner which ſeems to be reſerved for important places. Water is brought to it from the diſtance of a quarter of a league by a new aqueduct built with hewn ſtone.

A packet boat ſails twice a week from this town to Ceuta, a Spaniſh ſea port, at five leagues diſtance, on the coaſt of Africa. This voyage is often made in

three or four hours, but it ſometimes takes up nine or ten: the paſſage is five reals; no great ſum to be tranſported from one quarter of the world to another; a traveller is eaſily tempted to make the trip. Particular circumſtances, however, prevented me from ſo far gratifying my inclination.

The little port of Algeſiras is very confined in ſpeculations of commerce; it receives ſome cargoes of corn and brandy by Catalonian barks; and its exportations chiefly conſiſt in coal from the neighbouring mountains which is ſent to Cadiz.

A great part of the two leagues from Algeſiras to Saint Roche, is by the ſide of the Bay. There are two little rivers which fall into it to be croſſed in boats, *El Rio de los Pulmones* and the Guaraipe, which might be taken for an arm of the ſea. After paſſing the latter, you leave the Bay and gain the back part of the hill upon which the ill paved town of Saint

Saint Roche is ſituated. The late war, which in part had its ſeat in the neighbourhood, and the preſence of a numerous garriſon ſeem not to have enriched it: the environs are agreeable, and the adjoining hills are carefully cultivated.

At Saint Roche I was addreſſed to an aid-major of the place, an Iriſhman (Mr. James Lyons) a man of underſtanding and conſiderable knowledge, whoſe name my gratitude has obliged me to mention. He obtained from the commander of the lines, permiſſion for me to approach Gibraltar as near as the recent and rigorous order which prevented all communication between that place and the Spaniſh continent would permit. We ſet off from Saint Roche, on horſeback, about four o'clock; and left Buenaviſta to the right. This is a large houſe upon an eminence, in which the duke de Crillon, his aides-de-camp, and all their retinue were lodged, and whence they had a view of Gibraltar, the two ſeas and the

the coaſt of Africa. At length we arrived on the ground of the two famous camps of Saint Roche. Deſtroyed by peace, as other things are by war, it preſented nothing but a heap of ruins and ſome broken walls, but neither a roof nor window. This theatre, of the moſt profound ſilence and ſolitude, after having, during four years, been that of the tumult accompanying armies, and of death which follows their motions, preſented me a ſufficient ſubject for reflection on the viciſſitudes of all human affairs. We croſſed this ground diagonally to go ſtraight to the Mediterranean, and follow the coaſt to Fort Saint Barbe which forms the right of the lines: we aſcended them as far as the principal guard, where we preſented the order of the commander, and the great gate, which leads to the lines before Gibraltar, was opened to us: a petty officer was ſent to watch rather than direct our motions. Immediately on going out we found the long trench planned by M. d'Arçon, and opened in the night of the

the 15th of July 1782; it proceeded from the center of the line, paſſed under the fire of the places and terminated at the Mediterranean. We were afterwards ſhewn the trenches and epaulement thrown up by general Alvarez, and which were ſo much ſpoken of in the gazettes of Madrid; the ſight of them infuſed a ſmall portion of ſarcaſm into my philanthropical reflections, and made me recollect the verſes ſome elegant idler of Paris wrote at the time, to cheer the langour of the beſiegers and that of the reader of their tardy and unvaried exploits. Perhaps my reader may not be diſpleaſed at finding them here: thoſe who are the ſubjects of them had at the time the generoſity to laugh at the ſatire, and probably will not be offended at it five years afterwards.

Meſſieurs de Saint Roch, entre nous,
Ceci paſſe la raillerie.
En avez-vous là pour la vie?
Ou quelque jour finirez vous?
Ne pouvez-vous à la vaillance
Joindre le talent d'abréger?

Votre

Votre éternelle patience
Ne ſe laſſe point d'aſſiéger.
Mais vous mettez a bout la notre,
Soyez donc battants ou battus,
Meſſieurs, du camp & du blocus,
Terminez de façon ou d'autre;
Terminez, car on ne tient plus.
Frequentes ſont vos canonnades:
Mais hélas! qu'ont-elles produit?
Le tranquille Anglois dort au bruit
De vos nocturnes petarades;
Ou s'il répond de tems en tems
A votre prudente furie,
C'eſt par égard, je le parie,
Et pour dire je vous entends.
Quatre ans ont dû vous rendre ſages,
Laiſſez donc là vos vieux ouvrages,
Quittez vos vieux retranchemens:
Retirez-vous, vieux aſſiegéans.
Un jour ce mémorable ſiege
Sera fini par vos enfans,
Si toutefois Dieu les protege.
Mes amis, vous le voyez bien,
Vos bombes ne bombardent rien:
Vos pétarades, vos corvettes,
Et vos travaux & vos mineurs,
N'épouvante que les lecteurs
De vos redoutables gazettes.
Votre blocus ne bloque point;
Et grace à votre heureuſe adreſſe,
Ceux que vous affamez ſans ceſſe
Ne périront que d'émbonpoint

Illuſtrious

Illuſtrious warriors of Saint Roche,
Believe me, this exceeds a joke:
Say, will you here remain for life,
Or one day end the gallant ſtrife?
Or can you not contrive to join
Diſpatch to valour ſo divine?
Your patience ſtill may laſt, no doubt,
But ours is fairly wearied out.
Then, heroes of the long blockade,
Conclude at length your vain parade.
Th' inceſſant roar your batteries keep
But lulls the careleſs foe to ſleep;
Or if he anſwer you by chance,
'Tis but in common complaiſance.
Your laboured works grow old, and you,
Heroic Sirs, are grown old too.
'Tis time to quit theſe martial cares,
And leave the buſineſs to your heirs;
Your ſons, or your ſons ſons, perchance,
With Spain's whole force, and aid of France,
If fortune on their labours ſmile,
Shall terminate the glorious toil.
Your cloſe circumvallation lines,
And all your mortars and your mines,
Which your gazettes with pride diſplay,
The coffee houſe alone diſmay:
In vain you block, in vain you batter,
Thoſe you would ſtarve grow daily fatter;
And, at the worſt, will only die
Of corpulence and lethargy.

But to return to proſe, and conclude what I have to ſay of the camp of Saint Roche. We found traces of all the works; but the ſand and earth of which they were conſtructed had crumbled down in many places; the faſcines that bound them lay heaped together and ſerved to make fires in the few chimneys which ſmoke in this part of the country, or were abandoned to the ſlower deſtruction of time. We were ſhewn a large ſtone tower, called the tower of the mill, which, placed between the beſiegers and the beſieged, was the only thing that had eſcaped their combined ravages. We diſcovered the place where the Engliſh had made ſome little gardens before their fortreſs, and beyond the limits fixed by the peace of Utrecht; the incloſure was ſtill marked with reeds; but the ground they incircled, by being reſtored to its real proprietors, or rather becoming neuter, had reſumed its former ſterility. Kings, like individuals, are never good near neighbours; and the ſeparation of deſerts is neceſſary to

to preſerve them on terms of friendſhip with each other; were that the caſe, the earth would indeed be leſs inhabited; but would that on the whole be a miſfortune to mankind? I hear the friends of population exclaim againſt the idea, and wave the enquiry to return to the works conſtructed by general Alvarez.

After having for ſometime followed theſe works on the ſide of the Bay, and in front of the old mole, we took a diagonal direction towards the Mediterranean, to ſurvey nearer at hand, and under different aſpects, the rock which for five years had been the object of ſo many military and political ſpeculations. We approached a ſmall tower, ſituated near to a prodigious forteſs, cloſe by the Mediterranean, when our ſtern conductor ſaid to us in Spaniſh, which at that moment did not appear to us to be the language of the gods, "You can go no "farther, the firſt Engliſh guard is cloſe "to the tower you ſee before you." I aſked him, whether war or a peſtilence obliged

obliged us to keep at a diſtance; but he ſeemed not to take this ſally of wit in good part. He was doing his duty; and although not very uſeful to our purpoſe, might have rendered us the victims of his ill humour. The ſafeſt method was not to provoke his reſentment, but turn to the right; which reſolution we immediately took. But in paſſing ſo near the fortreſs, whence the Engliſh ſoldiers, placed upon the edges of ſome of the batteries on the land ſide, ſeemed to threaten our heads with a perpendicular ſhot, our conductor pointed out to us the mouth of a mine the duke de Crillon had hollowed within the rock, and by which he intended to revenge the fate of the floating batteries, when the peace obliged him to deſiſt, and gave ſafety to the foundation of the fortreſs. During the ſiege, ſome daring workmen climbed up in the night to this opening, by favour of a heap of crumbled earth which adhered to the rock. The excavation had already advanced ſeveral fathoms, when hoſtilities were ſuſpended; but had

had it been ſtill deeper, it is difficult to conceive how powder could have raiſed up and broken the enormous maſs which would ſtill have borne upon the mine even when compleated, or how the exploſion could have been prevented from re-acting towards the ſide of the orifice where it would have found leſs reſiſtance. This was not the only point of the rock the duke de Crillon threatened: on the Mediterranean ſide, the declivity, though ſo deep as to be almoſt perpendicular, does not continue ſo to the ſurface of the earth. Between the foot of the mountain and the ſea, there is a kind of path which leads to Europa point. At the entrance of this path, and near the Engliſh guard of which I have ſpoken, M. de Crillon had made a ſecond opening in the rock. But it may be aſked, what this general could have gained by ſcaling this ſide in the moſt elevated part, and at the greateſt diſtance from the main body of the place.

Notwithſtanding theſe queſtions, which I have heard put by profeſſional men, and the ſarcaſms thrown out againſt both theſe attempts, I have been aſſured by perſons who were preſent, that when general Eliott, after hoſtilities had ceaſed, walked with the duke de Crillon round the place he had ſo valiantly defended, he appeared ſurpriſed at ſeeing the progreſs made in a mine he had ſcarcely ſuſpected, and that he ſaid to the French general, had he known the ſtate it was in he ſhould not have been ſo eaſy. Was this expreſſion from the Engliſh hero, an effort he made to imitate French complaiſance; or did he mean ſincerely to praiſe the bold enterpriſe of the duke de Crillon? On this I ſhall not undertake to decide. Be this as it may, the rock of Gibraltar which is ſteepeſt on the ſide toward the Mediterranean has gradually leſs declivity towards the Bay of Algeſiras. It is on this kind of talus that the art of fortification has employed numerous means of defence. Some ſoldiers having perceived us from the

the top of the formidable amphitheatre, addreſſed us in Spaniſh, and gave notice to their officers.

Let it be here obſerved, that Nature, as if to render Gibraltar inacceſſible on all ſides, has placed between the foot of this fortreſs, to the ſouth, and on the ſide of the Bay of Algeſiras, a deep marſh which leaves between it and the place, as far as the land gate only, the breadth of a narrow cauſeway, commanded by an hundred cannon at a very trifling diſtance. A ſmall dyke between the marſh and the Bay runs by the ſea ſide to confine the water, and terminates at the land gate; and the marſh is contained in the encloſure of the place by a paliſade, which begins at the foot of the mountain and terminates at the ſea; the purpoſe of the paliſade is to prevent deſertion. It was the firſt victim ſacrificed at the ſiege of Gibraltar, and its ruins, blackened by the fire, carried off from under the cannon of the place, ſerved as trophies to ſome Spaniſh gre-

nadiers, who preſented them to the count d'Eſtaing; a general equally able to appreciate valour and diſpoſed to reward it.

As long as the war laſted it remained in ruins, but it has been carefully repaired ſince the peace: the old mole is diſtinctly ſeen from it; it advances into the Bay, almoſt perpendicularly to the body of the place; it is a kind of narrow bank or cauſeway, with cannon planted on both ſides, and entirely maſks the new mole, which is half a league behind it, and nearly in the ſame direction.

The Engliſh officers, informed by their ſoldiers, ſaw us on the other ſide of the paliſade, and ſaluted us in their language. The Iriſh officer who accompanied me having anſwered them in Engliſh, they drew near, and a converſation was begun. The officers, who were three in number, were young and very polite; they invited us to enter with them into the fortreſs, and particularly inſiſted upon

upon it when I told them I had a letter for general Eliott. We objected to this on account of the formal prohibition of the court of Madrid, which we as little permitted ourſelves to interpret as to infringe, our fear of expoſing the Iriſh officer, who was the principal interlocutor, and the impoſſibility of eſcaping the vigilance of our conductor. He had, however, abated ſomewhat of his ſeverity; he conſented, with a good grace, to our interview, and ſat himſelf quietly down upon a ſtone whilſt the converſation laſted, which would not have been very intereſting to him had he underſtood it: its having a little the appearance of a forbidden gratification was ſufficient to make it agreeable to us. Five perſons of different nations, ſpeaking to each other over a paliſade, which, by the ſtrict prohibition of the court of Spain, oppoſed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their uniting, reminded me of a converſation obtained in a convent through an iron grate, in which both parties endeavour to deceive the eyes

of the female Argus, who increaſes the pleaſure of the meeting by adding to the conſtraint. The eyes of our Argus had no need of being deceived. Shut by heedleſſneſs and languor, they opened with regret, when it was neceſſary we ſhould again mount our horſes. The Engliſh officers, unable to overcome our ſcruples, offered us refreſhment; we accepted ſome beer, and had the ſatisfaction of drinking with them, under the cannon of Gibraltar, a few glaſſes of porter, to the health of king George III. and general Eliott. In ſuch circumſtances, the diſtinctions by which nations are claſſed, and the ſpirit of rivalry that divides them are annihilated. We were neither Frenchmen, Spaniards, nor Engliſhmen; but merely ſo many members of the immenſe family of mankind. If the uniting of men into nations conſtitutes their ſtrength, and a great part of their virtues, it is alſo the ſource of moſt of their vices and misfortunes; without this fewer miſchiefs would deſolate the earth: revolts againſt authority, the oppreſſion of crowned deſpots,

deſpots, that ſtill more ſevere of ſubaltern tyrants, the ſilent intrigues of policy, and the noiſy ravages of war would be unknown; men would no longer deſtroy each other in purſuit of that phantom called Glory; they would no more ſacrifice their repoſe, and that of their wives and children, to intereſts foreign to their own; and, in defect of magiſtrates and laws, each man would take upon him to revenge his own wrongs. The greater contraſt theſe reflections formed to ſo many recent events, the remembrance of which was awakened by the ſight of Gibraltar, the more affecting and profound was the impreſſion they made, and the more ſenſible the charm they added to our little congreſs. It ſoon became neceſſary to baniſh them, and return from the illuſion of the golden age to the ſad realities of that of iron. The ſun was ſetting, and the calm of the evening made the cries of the ſailors, on board the veſſels anchored before us at the foot of the old mole, more diſtinctly heard. The famous rock

already began to fade from our ſight. We took leave of the Engliſh officers, and again returned by the lines. In retiring I turned twenty times towards Gibraltar; I wiſhed, by frequently looking at it, to carry in my memory the exact image of an object which had been ſo fertile a ſource of military, political, and philoſophical reflections. That, ſaid I to myſelf, is the rock which, during five years, engaged the attention of all nations. It is in every reſpect uſeleſs to the Engliſh, but they imagine their honour intereſted in preſerving that little portion of land, in ſpite of Nature, which ſeems to have allotted it to the monarch who reigns over the Peninſula of which it makes a part; they ſacrifice millions to fortify, preſerve and defend it. On the other hand, the vanity only of Spain is intereſted in recovering it; and to this chimera, under a monarch ſparing of the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects, ſhe ſacrificed, during five years, the moſt enormous ſums, the moſt advantageous plans of more diſtant expeditions, and,

if

if I may dare to uſe the expreſſion, the glory of the kingdom, were that glory rightly underſtood; while the houſe of Bourbon chained the greateſt part of its naval forces to the foot of this rock, more contemptible in itſelf than formidable by the art of war.

In the midſt of theſe reveries, I arrived at Fort Saint Philip, which is at the other extremity of the lines on the ſide of the Bay. We rode within them until we came to the principal guard; we there left our ſtoical conductor, who had felt nothing but langour and fatigue, where I had found ſo much pleaſure and intereſting objects which had given birth to ſo many reflections. We took the road to Saint Roche, keeping by the ſea-ſide, and paſſing over the little wooden mole, where the embarkations were made, and the wounded received on ſhore, during the fatal night of the floating batteries. We afterwards croſſed the bridge of Mayorga, oppoſite to which theſe batteries took their departure when they

they ſailed to the attack. I imagined that I heard the groans of the manes of the valiant beſiegers who found death in the midſt of waves and flames; I ſeemed to hear the roar of that formidable artillery, which on both ſides made ſo much noiſe and ſuch few ravages. We arrived at Saint Roche at eight o'clock in the evening.

My firſt intention was to go from Saint Roche to Malaga, and to return to Madrid by croſſing the kingdom of Granada. This is, perhaps, the part of Spain which moſt excites the curioſity of the traveller. He there finds all the majeſty as well as all the beauties of nature: high mountains whoſe ſummits are conſtantly covered with ſnow; fertile valleys, of which the agreeable coolneſs is not diminiſhed even by the heat of the dog-days; torrents of limpid water, which ruſh from the rocks, and fertiliſe the country without overflowing it, and the moſt beautiful points of view. In the capital he finds monuments for which he

he would ſearch in vain in the reſt of Europe; well preſerved palaces of the ancient Mooriſh kings, to whom the kingdom of Granada was the laſt aſylum; baths, gardens, moſques, and other remains of the magnificence and taſte of the Arabs, which have ſurvived the ravages of conquerors for the pleaſure and information of poſterity. M. Peyron, in his Eſſays on Spain, has already given a deſcription, equally accurate and intereſting, of theſe wonders of art and nature, which greatly increaſed the deſire I had to ſee them. His deſcription diminiſhes my regret on the readers account, to whom I can offer nothing better; but it can never conſole me for having been prevented by circumſtances from gratifying my curioſity. I was obliged to put off this agreeable journey on account of buſineſs, which called me to Madrid; and from Saint Roche I took the direct road to that capital, making one little circuit only to ſee the eſtabliſhments of Ximena.

This

This place is four leagues from Saint Roche. The two firſt of which lie moſtly over ſand, but through a wood, in which tufts of ſhrubs fill up the intervals between the great trees, and which, beſides, contains wild olive and fig-trees, green oak, and the *alcornoque* or cork-tree. The road for the two laſt leagues winds through a vaſt plain, or rather a garden, abounding in melons, cucumbers and Indian corn.

Ximena is built upon the declivity of a ſteep rock commanded by the ruins of an old caſtle. I had letters of recommendation to Don Manuel Behic, deſcended from a French family, and who had for ſome years been comptroller of a foundery of iron cannon, and balls, excluſively intended for Spaniſh America. The manufacture was eſtabliſhed by the miniſter of the Indies, M. de Galvez, under the direction of a captain of a ſhip of war. His management of the undertaking was not ſatisfactory to government, and I found at Ximena a colonel

of

of engineers who was charged to ſcrutiniſe the proceedings, and examine whether or not the eſtabliſhment could be continued. The reſult of his obſervations was, that the river which ſet in motion the forges was dry eight months in the year, and that, during the other four, it was not ſufficient to drive a ſingle hammer. Notwithſtanding theſe deficiencies, which ought to have made the intendant more ſparing in his advances, he had already made ſuch as ſeemed to be calculated for the moſt flouriſhing manufacture; an error or a treachery too common among the Spaniards, who often make the moſt expenſive efforts in the beginning of eſtabliſhments, which experience ſoon after cauſes to be abandoned. The miniſter of the Indies has choſen another ſituation for the manufactory of Ximena, three leagues from the old one, on the river Guadiaro, in which there is always water ſufficient to drive two forges. After I had left Ximena, I paſſed by the place where ſome workmen were already employed.

employed. The eſtabliſhment cannot there fail of ſucceſs; the ſituation is very favorable, ſince it is near a rich mine which produces twenty five pounds of iron for every hundred weight of ore. From Ximena I proceeded three leagues farther to Gauſin, a handſome town in the middle of very high mountains, whence the rock of Gibraltar may be diſtinctly ſeen. From the ſummits of theſe mountains, the peaceable inhabitants of Gauſin, ſaw the fire iſſue from that fortreſs without being in the leaſt alarmed at its thunders, as the Gods of Epicurus from their celeſtial abodes looked down with unconcerned tranquility on all the painful ſtruggles and cruel ſufferings of wretched mortals.

I took the advantage of what light remained to admire the ſituation of Gauſin. At the foot of it is a deep valley, which receives the tribute of the rivulets that run from the ſides of neighbouring mountains; the inhabitants have ſo far profited by this advantage, as to have ſurrounded

ſurrounded themſelves with vegetables and verdure. The neighbouring hills are covered with vineyards, and what ſerves to decorate the landſcape is a great encloſure, belonging to the Franciſcans, which runs by the ſide of the great road, following its rapid deſcent. Though the monks are generally exclaimed againſt, it muſt be allowed that their poſſeſſions are every where, and particularly on the outſide of cities, cultivated in the beſt manner; that their habitations form agreeable points of view; and their reſidence enlivens the adjacent country. Is it that the pious complaiſance of the faithful has permitted them to chuſe the moſt agreeable ſituations; or do the leiſures of their ſolitary life furniſh them with more means of embelliſhing their places of retirement?

In my walk of obſervation I met the Corregidor, who gave me a deſcription of Gauſin worthy of a good patriot; he extolled the poſition of the old caſtle which commanded the town, and whence the

the inhabitants judged of the attack and defence of the beſiegers and beſieged of Gibraltar. I led the converſation to the national bank; he ſeemed to regret that the capital had been increaſed by the ſubſidies from cities and communities. In his opinion they might have been better employed. Gauſin, for inſtance, had been obliged to part with forty thouſand reals, which would have anſwered a more uſeful purpoſe, had they been applied to paving the town, or repairing the roads about it. Thus it every where happens, that the ſolitary citizen, confining himſelf within his own narrow ſphere, and not in a ſituation to comprehend the great views of adminiſtration, would wiſh, in his ſelf importance, every thing to be ſacrificed to his particular convenience.

Beyond Gauſin, the road for two or three leagues lies over the ſide of the mountains, acroſs the vineyards, which from within a ſmall diſtance of their tops deſcend to the bottom of the valleys.

The

The little habitations of the vine dreſſers on the declivity of the mountains, prove the activity which reigns in this happy diſtrict. The country afterwards becomes ſtill more mountainous; and the reſt of the road lies acroſs the moſt enormous mountains entirely deprived of covering. From time to time we meet with ſome wretched villages, hung, as it were, upon the ſides of naked rocks, and which are the retreats of thieves and ſmugglers. Their names and ſituation ſufficiently indicate they were built by the Moors, who, no doubt ſought, in the boſom of the moſt inacceſſible mountains, aſylums where they might be ſecure from the attacks of the Chriſtians. The principal of theſe villages are Guatazin, Benali, and Atajate: the laſt is three leagues from Gauſin, almoſt at the foot of the rocks; the road from it aſcends again and continues to the ſummit of the high mountains, whence we ſee, for the laſt time, the rock of Gibraltar.

We ſoon afterwards diſcover Ronda, which, ſeen at that diſtance, appears ſituated in the middle of a baſon formed by the neighbouring hills, and in the boſom of the moſt barren and ſtoney country imaginable. We are, however, undeceived as ſoon as we arrive in the city, which, from the ſtrength of its natural fortifications, was not taken from the Moors until the end of the fifteenth century. It is ſurrounded with a double encloſure of rocks, between which runs a little river. In the time of the Moors, the only entrance was by a low gate, flanked with great towers; afterwards a ſhort but very high bridge was to be paſſed, at the foot of which was a great ſpring, that has never diſappeared. The city of Ronda covers a conſiderable but uneven ſpace of ground. The double natural rampart which ſurrounds it is incommodious to the inhabitants, ſince it is no longer neceſſary to their ſafety. A project has been formed to conſtruct a ſecond bridge, at the place of the neareſt approach of the rocks to each other.

This

This idea animated the patriotic zeal of M. Giron, a general officer of diſtinguiſhed birth and talents, and one of the principal citizens of Ronda. He preſſed the execution of the project, and towards the end of the year 1785, enormous piles had already been driven at the bottom of the natural ditch, and promiſed the inhabitants a new means of eſcaping from their ſpacious priſon.

To the North Eaſt, the environs which are not ſeen as we approach from Gauſin, are covered with orchards that furniſh abundance of peaches, plumbs, different kinds of pears, and apples of an excellent quality; theſe fruits are not often met with good in Spain; for whether the gardeners want ſkill, or the nature of the ſoil be improper, the country of oranges, figs and olives, is not that of the exquiſite fruits which conſtitute the moſt ornamental and delicious part of our autumnal deſerts. We ſhall indeed be inclined to ſuſpect this ariſes from want of ſkill in the art of gardening, if

we conſider that the king's table is covered with excellent fruits of this kind from the gardens of Aranjuez and Saint Ildefonſo, whilſt it would be in vain to ſearch for them in the reſt of Caſtile.

Paxarete, famous for its wine, is four or five leagues from Ronda, and belongs to M. Giron.

Grazalema, ſituated like Ronda, in the boſom of rocks, is only three leagues from the latter town. The inhabitants having abundance of water, and but few reſources, employ themſelves in the preparation of wool. The reſult has been one of the principal manufactures of Spaniſh cloths for home conſumption.

The firſt league and a half from Ronda is agreeable from the great number of orchards by the ſide of the road; the ground afterwards becomes uneven, ſtoney, and but little cultivated. I reached Cannete the ſame day, a large unhandſome town, commanded by the ruins of an

an old fort. The country beyond it, as far as Oſſuna, is barren and uneven, and preſents nothing but a few olive plantations; their pale verdure, which ſcarcely ſhades a grey ſoil, ſaddens rather than embelliſhes the landſcape.

Five leagues farther we arrive at Oſſuna, the capital of the duchy of that name. The city is conſiderable, but nothing in it announces affluence, although many of the nobility reſide there. I remarked an alameda, or public walk, decorated with a fountain: two pillars in a bad taſte are alſo intended to contribute to its embelliſhment; they bear a pompous inſcription, in which are named the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Oſſuna, who was then alive, and the two corregidors, founders of the pillars, which have been honoured with the appellation of *famoſa obra*: the inſcription concludes by declaring, that it had been engraved as an *eternal monument*. I obſerved that this *monument*, this *famous work*, conſiſted in two fountains of but

very middling appearance, and in two rows of heavy ſtone benches clumſily covered with plaſter. In 1785, they diſappointed the modeſt intention that had dedicated them to eternity; their ruins, with which the ground is covered, though it is only eight years ſince the erection of the pillars, ſufficiently evince the fragility of the works of man. It would be difficult to find a monument in a worſe ſtate, and eſpecially a more ſtriking gaſconade; with reaſon, therefore, are the Andaluſians called the gaſcons of Spain.

Eccija is ſix leagues from Oſſuna, acroſs a flat and well cultivated country. At about the diſtance of a league from Oſſuna, I remarked a great marſh almoſt covered with white birds, bigger and longer bodied than ducks, and called in Spaniſh, *alablancos*. At the leaſt noiſe they riſe in flocks and diſplay their wings, in which a bright red is, in a ſingular manner, mixed with the white. I cannot better compare the appearance they make, than to that of a pack of cards

cards thrown into the air and falling in diſorder. The water upon which theſe birds live is brackiſh; ſportſmen ſhoot them, but they are not good to eat.

At Eccija, which I had already ſeen as I went to Cadiz, I took poſt horſes and, following for ſeventy five leagues the road I had travelled at the beginning of my journey, arrived at Madrid.

After my return to the capital, I took the advantage of the leiſure my affairs permitted me, to make excurſions to ſeveral places little known, and which excited my curioſity.

I began with San Fernando, a village three leagues from Madrid, which for ſome time was remarkable on account of a manufacture of cloths eſtabliſhed there. This has been removed to Guadalaxara, but the cloths ſtill preſerve the name of the place where they were firſt made; and as the ſign brings cuſtomers, the change of the place has neither

diminiſhed the vogue or reputation. San Fernando, formerly animated by induſtry, is now the abode of ſilence and melancholly. The vaſt edifice that reſounded with the noiſe of machines and the cheerful ſongs of workmen, is now filled with the impure voices of wretched proſtitutes, which the police of Madrid delivers from vice to condemn to penitence; they there expiate the pleaſures they have beſtowed upon their numerous lovers, of the court and capital, and ſometimes the refuſals their caprice has given to perſons who are not to be denied with impunity. San Fernando is to Madrid, what the *Salpêtrierè* is to Paris, the ſcarecrow of vice, but ſometimes a retreat that opens to the voice of vengeance concealed under the appearance of juſtice. Beſides, united as it were in one body, the wretches leave the hoſpital more corrupted or rather leſs capable of amendment.

At nearly the ſame diſtance from Madrid is a little village, ſcarcely known by name,

name, which appeared to me to merit attention; it is called *Loeches.* I had become deſirous of ſeeing it, from having read a little Engliſh pamphlet which appeared during my reſidence at Madrid, entituled, *Anecdotes of eminent painters in Spain.* Mr. Cumberland, more known by his dramatic pieces, than his ſucceſs as a negociator, reſided almoſt a year at Madrid. He had in charge, it is ſaid, to induce Spain to detach herſelf from her alliance with France. He was accompanied by his daughters. Theſe two young ladies were, notwithſtanding the wars which divided the two countries, perfectly well received in the circles of Caſtile. In fact, there was no great merit in laying at their feet all national prejudices. In them wit was united with elegance of figure, and the graces with talents. Gallantry rendered them the homage which was their due, but ſtate-policy in vain endeavoured to make them uſeful to its views. In treating with Mr. Cumberland, the miniſter of the court of Madrid forgot he was

their

their father, and Spaniſh loyalty thus acquired another triumph.

Thoſe who know theſe accompliſhed ladies, whom I have ſince had the pleaſure of ſeeing in England, will excuſe this digreſſion; of every body elſe I aſk pardon. The dutcheſs of Vauguyon, who has lived ſome years at Madrid, can, beſides, atteſt that it is not for amiable Engliſh ladies only that the Spaniards reſerve their polite attention; but that people of all nations are ſure of pleaſing them when they have the deſire and the means of doing it.

Mr. Cumberland after his return to London, communicated to the public, in a pamphlet, the obſervations he had made on the arts at Madrid. This production was nothing more than a deſultory compilation, wherein the author had collected anecdotes concerning the painters who had poſſeſſed the greateſt reputation in Spain. Rubens, who had made two journies into that kingdom was not

not forgotten. I knew that, well received at the court of Philip the Fourth, he had enriched with the productions of his pencil the palace of that monarch; but I had not learned that he had buried ſeveral of them in a little convent of nuns four leagues from Madrid. This I gathered from the pamphlet of Mr. Cumberland, and was determined to be convinced of the truth with my own eyes. I found at Loeches, a little church founded by the duke de Olivarez, the decorations of which might be envied by the metropolitan of the Chriſtian world. Six capital paintings by Rubens, of the largeſt ſize and moſt magnificent effect, adorn the altars or enrich the walls. The principal of theſe is an allegorical painting of the triumph of religion; it is over the great altar, and unites all the beauties, and even defects, which characteriſe its author; richneſs of compoſition, brilliant colouring, ſtrength of expreſſion, and negligence of deſign. After this painting, I was moſt ſtruck with that in which Elias is

repreſented

repreſented ſtanding in the deſert, at the moment when an angel appears to comfort him; there is ſomething divine in the attitude of the prophet, and in the expreſſion of his countenance. I remarked, with pleaſure, that Rubens had given to his features a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe of Henry IV. whether it were that theſe features, which he has more than once traced upon canvaſs, were unconſciouſly produced by his pencil, or whether he availed himſelf of his art to perpetuate in Spain, under the form of a prophet, the portrait of a manarch ſo odious to that country, both with reſpect to his religion and his political ſyſtem?

There is in the ſame church an excellent copy of a holy family, by Andrea del Sarto, the original of which is at the Eſcurial, as alſo a copy of another painting in the ſame convent, repreſenting a dead Chriſt on the knees of his mother: this painting is alſo by Rubens.

There

There are ſome pictures in the veſtry which have their merit; among others, two by Baſſan and one by Titian. I ſpent ſome hours in contemplating theſe maſterly productions, which are almoſt unknown in the hiſtory of painting. Satisfied, but not cloyed, I quitted the church of Loeches to return to Madrid.

Another object of curioſity, perhaps ſtill more unknown to the Spaniards themſelves, is found in the boſom of the mountains of Caſtile, four or five leagues from the Eſcurial: this is a monument which has cauſed much perplexity to ſome antiquarians, and which they know by the name of *Toros de Guiſando*. Guiſando is a convent of Hieronymites, placed upon the ſide of a chain of ſteep rocks where, according to tradition, the ſons of Pompey were defeated by the party of Cæſar, and where the conquerors, to celebrate their triumph, ſacrificed to the gods an hundred bulls, and left the figures of four in ſtone on the place where they obtained their victory. Another traditiou aſſerts

aſſerts theſe ſuppoſed bulls are elephants, and ſays, that inſtead of the triumph of the Romans, they were intended to preſerve the memory of the paſſage of the Carthaginians into the country, who, indeed, have left in ſeveral parts of Spain ſome rude figures of theſe animals. It certainly requires not much knowledge of national hiſtory to diſtinguiſh a bull from an elephant, and the doubt of the Spaniſh antiquarians upon this queſtion might well become the ſubject of much pleaſantry. I was determined to examine attentively the matter in diſpute, and formed the bold reſolution of deciding on the queſtion. I found, in an encloſure of vines, overlooked by the convent of Guiſando, four enormous blocks of hard ſtone, reſembling granite; they appeared to me ſo unſhapen, that I was inclined to take them for the ſportive productions of nature, rather than the regular works of art. On examining them nearer, I diſcovered, or rather gueſſed, the intention of the ſculptor, but the efforts of his chiſel have almoſt

diſappeared

diſappeared beneath the ravages of time; I found no ſigns either of the horns of a bull or the trunk of an elephant. The form of the ears rather indicate the latter than the former animal; the contours of the rump and flanks are ſo much worn out of ſhape, that it is difficult to decide between the two. In ſhort, after an hour's obſervation, I left the difficulty as I found it. One of the blocks ſeemed to have been diſplaced by the hands of ſome curious perſons. The experiment was fatal to the block; it was broken into two pieces, which lie at the diſtance of a few paces from each other, and the hind part, ſunk into the earth, ſeems rather the rude production of its entrails, than to have been deſigned to ornament its ſurface.

I was almoſt aſhamed of my fruitleſs journey. I painfully climbed up to the monaſtery, whence I looked down upon this hieroglyphical monument; I had there no doubt of the manner in which it ought to be interpreted. The tradi-

tion

tion of which I have ſpoken, is preſerved upon a kind of ſcroll, conſtantly put into the hands of ſtrangers, who may there read diſtinctly the Latin inſcriptions cut in the ſides of the blocks, but which are now almoſt effaced. The principal of theſe inſcriptions is as follows: *Bellum Cæſaris et Patriæ ex magnâ parte confectum fuit; S. et Cn. Pompeii filiis hic in agro Baſtetano profligatis.* And another, *Exercitus victor hoſtibus effuſis.* They ſufficiently indicate that the monuments were deſigned to celebrate a victory over the ſons of Pompey. It remains to be determined whether the ground upon which they are placed be the *Agrum Baſtetanum*; and to reconcile the hypotheſis with hiſtory, which places the defeat of Pompey's party in Andaluſia. The worthy monks, jealous of the renown of their diſtrict, found an anſwer to all my objections; and that nothing might be wanting to my belief, they ſhewed me the caverns in which the ſons of Pompey found their death in ſeeking an aſylum after their defeat. I could ſcarcely perſuade myſelf

but

but that I heard the groans of their illuſtrious manes; and my imagination going back eighteen centuries, made me forget that I was ſurrounded by Hieronymites. This they recalled to my recollection, by remarking to me, that theſe aſylums of the martyrs to liberty had fourteen hundred years later been thoſe of the martyrs of penitence; and I was obliged to hear the recital of the retreat of the founders of their order to the caverns, the detail of their auſterities, and to diſtinguiſh the traces of their ſteps, and thoſe even of their tears. Fatigued with this ſolemn narrative; but perfectly ſatisfied with the cordial reception I had met with from the Monks, I deſcended to the plain; where I took a laſt view of the miſhapen hieroglyphics to which the good father had given me a key, and purſued the road to the Eſcurial.

The *Toros de Guiſando*, which many people at Madrid think imaginary, are frequently introduced into familiar converſation, to expreſs, in a burleſque manner, the courage of a man capable of

facing the greateſt dangers; and in this ſenſe they are uſed by one of the heros of Cervantes. When after my return I ſaid I had ſeen and touched theſe famous bulls, I was looked upon as an extraordinary perſon. The wonder, however, ceaſed when I had deſcribed the enemy whom I had ſo reſolutely braved.

Another diſtrict, farther from Madrid, makes a ſtill greater figure than the *Toros de Guiſando* in the fabulous hiſtory of Spain; I mean the diſtrict of Battuecas, to which Monteſquieu alludes in his Perſian Letters, when he ſays, the Spaniards have in their own kingdom diſtricts unknown to themſelves. According to ancient tradition, the religion, language and manners of Spain were unknown in the Battuecas. Extraordinary voices had been heard there from the neighbouring villages; the ſhepherds were afraid to approach it with their flocks. Fewer alarms would have made it the retreat of dæmons or ſavages; and each related in his

his own manner, the origin and particularities of the place. The Battuecas have alſo furniſhed a ſubject for the wits of Spain; they are introduced into comedies and novels; and Moreri did not diſdain to give to theſe ridiculous ſtories a place in his dictionary.

Father Feijoo, an extremely well informed and intelligent Monk, lately deceaſed, was one of the firſt who ſucceſsfully combated theſe abſurdities. The reſult of my reſearches, and the little tour I made to the Battuecas a ſhort time before my departure from Spain is, that they are two uncultivated valleys, ſcarcely a league in length, and ſo narrow and cloſely ſhut in, that it is difficult for the ſun to enter them in winter. This little diſtrict is remarkable for groupes of rocks oddly formed, for variety of trees, the meandering of the little river which waters the valleys, the excavations of the mountains by which they are formed, and the great numbers of all kinds of animals to which it ſerves as a

retreat. The only human habitation, which merits attention, is the convent of the bare-footed Carmelites, whoſe cells are buried, as it were, under the ſteep rocks by which they are threatened, and the trees that give them ſhade. A traveller might make the tour of Europe and not find a place more fit to become the aſylum of ſilence and peace. The diſtrict, which is almoſt inacceſſible, and not upon the road to any city, is ſcarcely ever frequented. The curious few who go thither, are looked upon as perſons impelled by an extravagant curioſity, by the peaceful inhabitants, who cannot imagine what they have come to ſeek among them. Their little diſtrict which they ſeldom or never leave, is in the dioceſe of Coria, between old Caſtile and Eſtramadura, eight leagues from Cividad Rodrigo, and fourteen from Salamanca.

I had a ſtrong deſire to ſee, before I left Spain, this city ſo famous in romance, and the hiſtory of Spaniſh literature. For

For want of a guide who knew the road from the Battuecas to Salamanca, I determined to return to Madrid and take my departure from that city.

The court was then at Saint Ildefonſo. I paſſed by that royal manſion, which brought me twelve leagues nearer the end of my journey; from Salamanca the diſtance is twenty ſeven leagues of that country, which make about forty of ours. All the diſtrict through which we paſſed (for I had ſtill a travelling companion) although barren in appearrance, is fertile and well cultivated: this, in a great meaſure, proceeds from the extent of the poſſeſſions, which is there much more confined than in ſeveral other provinces of Spain; the people themſelves having lands, or farming to advantage thoſe of great proprietors. The huſbandmen reſide near their farms; this has encreaſed the number of the towns and villages. Although complaint has been made of the depopulation of this part of Spain, I

counted twelve towns, hamlets, and villages which might be diſcovered from one ſpot of ground in the environs of Arevalo.

The firſt remarkable place at which we arrived after paſſing by Segovia, was *Santa Maria de Nieva.* This town contains ſix hundred houſes. The inhabitants, more happy than thoſe of the greateſt part of Spain, have full permiſſion to ſell all kind of eatables. They reckon among other advantages, the poſſeſſion of a miraculous image of the virgin, and the innocent privilege of having an annual bull fight, at which all the lovers of that diverſion in the neighbourhood aſſemble, and where the moſt famous *Matadores* of Spain diſdain not to gather bloody laurels.

From the eminence on which Santa Maria de Nieva is placed, we diſcover a fine country, if a large extent of land, in which there is neither runing water, trees, verdure nor country houſes, and which

which offers nothing but the dull uniform aſpect of immenſe fields of wheat, can be ſo called.

We ſoon after came to a wood of firs, which bears a faint reſemblance to the heaths of Bourdeaux, but the induſtry of the inhabitants has not taken advantage of the reſource which theſe trees preſent.

On the outſide of the wood the ground becomes bare and uniform. Notwithſtanding its dryneſs, it is well cultivated to the very gates of Arevalo, a town which muſt formerly have been a conſiderable city. It is almoſt ſurrounded by a little river the deep bed of which ſeems to have been dug for the defence of a fortreſs. The gate of Arevalo is a maſſive building without ornament; it leads to a bridge which is not more indebted to art, but its ſolidity may brave the ravages of inundations and almoſt thoſe of time. However, it has not been thought unworthy of a pompous inſcrip-

tion, which informs the traveller that the town and villages for thirty leagues round contributed to its conſtruction. The interior of Arevalo, notwithſtanding the impoveriſhed ſtate of the modern inhabitants, ſtill bears the marks of having formerly been an important city. There are ſome remains of antique columns upon which are placed miſerable barracks and half-rotten balconies. The ſight of theſe called to my recollection thoſe bankrupts who, formerly opulent, wear out in their diſtreſs the tattered remains of their once ſumptuous wardrobe. The clergy only preſerve their riches in the midſt of the poverty with which they are ſurrounded. There are ſtill in Arevalo eight pariſhes, and as many convents.

The only cultivation for the ſpace of ſix leagues, the diſtance from Santa Maria de Nieva to Arevalo is that of corn: a few vineyards produce wines, the bitter and earthy taſte of which nothing but habit can render ſupportable.

From

From Arevalo to Penaranda, nothing is ſeen but a fertile and well cultivated country. Yet notwithſtanding the riches of the earth the inhabitants ſeem poor. Reduced to articles of pure neceſſity, they deſpiſe thoſe of convenience, and deprived of all exterior communication and objects of compariſon, they ſeem not to have either the deſire or knowledge of theſe enjoyments. They never have a thought of embelliſhing their inheritances; a pleaſure or kitchen garden is to them an object of luxury, which their parſimony refuſes. Idleneſs impoſes on them deprivations, and, in turn, the habit of theſe increaſes indolence: they will move round this circle until roads, canals, and eaſy means of conveyance ſhall have taught them the advantages of commerce.

We paſſed the night at Flores de Avila, a miſerable village where we ſuffered every inconvenience. The frugal ſupper ſet before us was twenty times interrupted by the barking of dogs, the thefts of

of cats, the importunities of beggars, and the cavils of a toothleſs old woman who did the honours of the inn. We paſſed the night upon beds as hard as it is poſſible to conceive beds to be, devoured by the inſects, which in Spain ſo frequently diſturb the repoſe of the traveller. Accommodated in this manner, we roſe early without much effort, and immediately ſet out for Penaranda, a handſome little town, which contains about a thouſand houſes. Like Arevalo, it has ſome ruins of architecture, which prove it was formerly more conſiderable; it belongs to the counts of the ſame name, one of whom was the count de Penaranda ſo well known in political hiſtory by his arrogance, which twenty times was near breaking up the congreſs of Weſtphalia. After the extinction of the male line of the counts, Penaranda paſſed over to the houſe of Uceda, by the marriage of the preſent ducheſs of that name,

The

The inhabitants of the city have the greateſt confidence in an image of the Holy Virgin; without the aid of which, ſay they, they ſhould repeatedly have ſunk under their wretchedneſs. Such are the mild illuſions which modern philoſophers have had the cruelty to ridicule, and which, perhaps, ſhould be ſupported for the conſolation of the poor, when vigilant and enlightened authority has otherwiſe the means of remedying the abuſes of ſuperſtition. Illuſions like theſe are ſurely innocent, and even precious when their only effect is to nouriſh hope and patience in the boſom of the unfortunate*. The inhabitants of Penaranda, like thoſe of moſt of the Spaniſh provinces, appeared to me to ſtand in need of theſe two reſources; they are overburthened with taxes; they painfully earn what they poſſeſs, and diſtreſs deſtroys their induſtry. Their lords, who

* But what becomes of truth, I ſhall be aſked? I would not have it offended, but let us at leaſt be convinced it is preferable to the illuſion we would reject.

are

are ſometimes ignorant to the degree of being unacquainted with the geographical ſituation of their eſtates, confide the management of them to ſtewards, treaſurers, or alcaldes, who bring curſes upon their names by the abuſe of their authority. Who in ſuch a caſe would dare to ſpeak in favour of the oppreſſed? And who amongſt the latter would venture to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne? In vain do the laws offer him a refuge; their interpreters are too much afraid of perſons who know how to elude them, and againſt whom they are never invoked with impunity. I know that in the preſent age there have been magiſtrates virtuous and intrepid * enough to brave the reſentment of the great, by rigorouſly diſcuſſing the nature of their rights, and deſpoiling them of their uſurpations. The honour of reſtoring to the crown the poſſeſſion of

* I would name them were not I afraid of awakening againſt them the hatred their courage has excited; but my Spaniſh readers will add what, from delicacy, I here omit.

its

its privileges was attached to this bold reſolution, and ſuch a project has ſomething in it brilliant, which is a ſupport to courage. But where are they to be found, who, without other motives than equity and humanity, undertake the obſcure and hazardous defence of certain citizens, who, as the price of ſuch ſervices, frequently have nothing more to offer than their gratitude, admiration and eſteem? Theſe are not more numerous in Spain than in other countries.

I did not expect I ſhould have had ſo much to ſay relative to the little town of Penaranda; nor can I take my leave of it without rendering a tribute of juſtice to the inn in which I took the neceſſary refreſhment. It is certainly the cleaneſt and moſt convenient of any I met with in Spain. Contrary to the cuſtom of the country, the innkeeper and his wife are complaiſant, attentive, and always have proviſions to offer to their gueſts.

Half

Half a league from this city we entered a wood of green oaks, which we were almoſt an hour and an half in croſſing. It belongs to the counts of Penaranda. We met in the road a maſter maſon, whom we accoſted, and with whoſe good ſenſe we were rather ſtruck; I ſhould have been much more ſurpriſed at it in the former part of my reſidence in the country; but for ſeveral years paſt I had been accuſtomed to find wit, clear ideas, and remarkable preciſion of language in claſſes, which in other countries wretchedneſs and profound miſery reduce almoſt to the level of brutes. The corregidor of Penaranda would not perhaps have given us ſuch clear accounts of the cultivation of the country, the means of ſucceeding in it, &c. as thoſe we received from our travelling companion; who diſcovered us in a moment, upon our addreſſing him, in a language with which we were not familiar. He ſeaſoned his diſcourſe with ſtrokes of pleaſantry, which our moſt faſhionable wits need not have been aſhamed to own.

own. From him we learned that moſt of the lands of the diſtrict were farmed out to labourers, who did not pay more than a quarter of their produce to the proprietors, taking upon themſelves all expences, and who, with a little good fortune, became rich in a few years. However, I thought he took advantage of our being ſtrangers, to give us as an undoubted fact, that which then appeared to us, and ſtill ſeems to me to be a ridiculous ſtory. He aſſured us, that in ſome of the neighbouring pariſhes there were droves of cows, the male calves of which never had horns; but this defect prevented not their having all the properties of a bull or an ox.

I do not adviſe naturaliſts to aſſert upon the authority of the maſon of Penaranda, that in certain countries, there are breeds of *horned cattle*, which have *no horns*; but if this oddity of nature ſhould not be new to them, they are here furniſhed with another authority.

Whether

Whether the accounts of our travelling companion were true, or mere pleaſantries, his chearfulneſs and inſtructive converſation ſhortened the two long leagues which ſeparate Penaranda from Ventoſa, a miſerable village upon an eminence whence Salamanca begins to be ſeen. After paſſing Ventoſa we arrived at the town of Huerta; and in the inn there, I for the firſt time obſerved a ſingularity which in ſome reſpects well deſerves to be imitated in other places. At the entrance we found a placart, in which the alcalde mayor preſcribed to the innkeeper the manner in which he ought to treat travellers, the price he was to receive for their beds, food, horſes, &c. So far there was nothing amiſs; but the foreſight of the alcalde extended to forbidding the innkeeper from keeping pigs and hens, from ſuffering certain prohibited games to be played in his houſe, and from receiving into it armed men, or women of ill fame. Such ſhackles produce inconvenience, without being of any real benefit to morals, and by theſe means

means Spain will long be without good inns, and the dread of travellers. Thoſe who travel over that kingdom, without reflection, lay the blame on the indolence and careleſſneſs of the Spaniards. But obſervation ſhews, that the defect rather proceeds from the municipal conſtitution of cities and communities, the tyranny of the great, and from old cuſtoms which cannot be aboliſhed without new modelling a conſiderable part of the legiſlation. Time only and perſeverance can produce ſuch a revolution: the preſent miniſter has it in contemplation, and is preparing for the change, but does not mean it ſhall be violent or ſudden.

On leaving Huerta we diſtinctly ſaw the ſteeples of Salamanca, and did not again loſe ſight of them. The road lies along the banks of the Tormes, near to which the city is ſituated. At a certain diſtance its ſituation is beautiful; and were the country a little leſs naked it would conſiderably reſemble that of

Tours on the banks of the Loire. The appearance of Salamanca is very like that of Tours, as we arrive at it from Blois. To the right are ſome little barren and ſtoney hills, on which are ſeen a few habitations, with ſome tufts of trees, and to the left ſeveral copſes which ſeparate the great road from the river. At about half way we croſſed one of the vaſt paſtures or commons, called *Valdios*, which are but too frequent in Spain, but they are not cloathed with that brilliant verdure, which is the fineſt ornament of the country. A great drove of bulls paſſed us upon the road. The theatres of the bull-fights at Madrid and Valladolid are ſupplied from this diſtrict. After having frequently been witneſſes to their bloody conflicts, it was not without ſome emotion that we found ourſelves ſurrounded by theſe formidable animals; but they were at liberty and unprovoked; they had loſt their ferocity, and we were ſoon as much at our eaſe as we could have been in the midſt of a flock of ſheep. Nature has formed

formed but few miſchievous beings, neceſſity only forces ſome to become ſo, and this happens when it impoſes the law either of ſelf-defence or ſeeking food for nouriſhment. In ſuch caſes, and alſo in ſome others, are men more mild or leſs dangerous than bulls or lions?

On entering Salamanca we paſſed thro' dirty ſtreets, narrow and thinly peopled, which do not appear to belong to a great city: but we were agreeably ſurpriſed on arriving at the ſquare, which is equally remarkable for cleanneſs and regularity of architecture; it appeared to us much ſuperior to the *Plaza Mayor*, of which the inhabitants of Madrid are ſo vain. It is built with hewn ſtone, and ornamented with three rows of balconies that run all round without interruption. The firſt ſtory is formed by arcades, and their freeze is ornamented with medallions of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages Spain has produced. On one ſide are thoſe of all the kings of Caſtile to Charles III. excluſively; on the other

thoſe of the moſt celebrated heroes, ſuch as Bernard del Carpio, Gonſalves de Cordova, and Hernando Cortez. Thoſe to the eaſt are not yet filled up. May Spain ſoon have great men to fill theſe vacant places.

The edifices which form the ſquare of Salamanca are not the only ones worthy of attention; the cathedral, although cotemporary with Leo X. and built by a number of architects, has paid more than one tribute to bad taſte. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the boldneſs of the nave and the finiſhing of the Gothic ornaments make it one of the moſt remarkable churches in Spain: When the traveller is informed that, beſides the cathedral, there are in Salamanca, twenty-five pariſh churches, twenty-five convents of monks, and fourteen of women, without enumerating a conſiderable number of pious foundations, he is neither aſtoniſhed at its poverty nor want of population. Its univerſity, formerly ſo famous, to which ſtudents

ſtudents were ſent from all parts of Europe, has conſiderably fallen from its ancient ſplendor, although it is yet far from meriting the ignominious epithets beſtowed upon it by modern travellers. According to the laſt form given it by the council of Caſtile, it has ſixty-one profeſſorſhips, without reckoning an anatomical theatre, and the college of the three languages (Hebrew, Greek and Latin). At preſent it contains ſeveral able profeſſors, employed in purſuing and forcing from its laſt retreat the pretended philoſophy of Ariſtotle, the object of the invectives of all Europe, after having been that of ſtupid veneration, in France and Italy no leſs than in Spain.

The edifices of this univerſity are compoſed of two parts, ſeparated from each other by a ſtreet. The little ſchools, *(Eſcuelas minores)* are on one ſide; and on the other the gates of the univerſity properly ſo called. One of theſe gates immediately ſtrikes the eye. Beſides its be-

ing decorated with flowers extremely well ſculptured, it bears an inſcription which informs the reader that he is already at the door of the ſanctuary of the ſciences; the inſcription is in Hebrew. This gate opens to a court that leads to the different ſchools. Bad paintings, with which the wall is daubed, indicate the ſcience taught near at hand; and Latin verſes written beneath, ſcarcely more tolerable than the paintings, record either the generoſity of the principal patrons of the univerſity, as Alfonſo X. ſurnamed the Aſtronomer, and Ferdinand III. or the advantages of the ſcience in queſtion. The library is above; it is public, and if the librarians may be judged of by the reception I met with, thoſe who may have occaſion to viſit them hereafter will be perfectly ſatisfied with their politeneſs. This library contains a good collection. We remarked there many foreign books, eſpecially Engliſh and French; but there ſeemed to be but few modern works. The whole

con-

conſiſts of upwards of twenty thouſand volumes.

Another foundation, more modern than the univerſity of Salamanca, and more celebrated in the preſent age, is that of the great colleges, or *colegios mayores*. There are in Spain ſeven houſes of education which bear this name. The moſt diſtinguiſhed youth of the kingdom are brought up in them: and thence it was, formerly, that all thoſe who held places in the adminiſtration were taken, as I have obſerved in another part of this work. Such a diſtinction excited emulation amongſt the ſtudents of the colleges *(Colegiales)* and the order of advocates, whoſe moderate fortunes were unequal to ſo illuſtrious an education. The latter have lately been fully revenged; ſince it was among them the ſtate has found thoſe who do it moſt honour; and their triumph has thrown a ridicule upon their diſdainful rivals. Beſides, they who ſupplanted them produced the reform of the abuſes to which

theſe colleges were ſubject. In 1776, the council of Caſtile gave a new form to the whole, which in making them more regular, will probably render them more uſeful.

The city of Salamanca alone contains four of theſe colleges, thoſe of St. Bartholomew, Cuenca, Oviedo, and del Arzobiſpo. The firſt, and the moſt ancient, has been recently rebuilt, and merits the attention of connoiſſeurs: the architect was a Biſcayner, who had formed his taſte in Italy; but his genius ſeems to have exhauſted itſelf in the façade and the court; the interior of the building bears not the leaſt marks of it. However, it contains a library rich in manuſcripts. This college has produced ſeveral learned men; ſuch as Alphonſo Toſtado, whoſe immenſe erudition and prodigious fertility of invention are ſtill proverbial among the modern Spaniards.

The college of Cuenca, reſpectable in its appearance by its maſs and ſymmetry,

is overcharged with paltry ornaments. The ſame obſervation holds with reſpect to that of el Arzobiſpo; they are both monuments of the indefatigable patience which characteriſed the artiſts of former ages; though it muſt be allowed they might better have employed their time and pains.

Little can be ſaid of the *Colegio Mayor* of Oviedo. I had indeed heard much of the church of the Dominicans, the front of the convent of the Auguſtin nuns, and the church of San Marcos, heretofore belonging to the Jeſuits.

In the midſt of this profuſion of ſacred edifices at Salamanca, it was neceſſary to make a choice; we therefore confined our obſervations to theſe three churches.

The front of that of the Dominicans is an elaborate performance, in the gothic taſte; the nave is ſpacious, and the light judiciouſly admitted; the chapels are richly decorated, and in all theſe reſpects it appeared

appeared to us to reſemble many other churches in Spain. But we ſought in vain for the fine paintings of which we had heard ſo many encomiums. The ceiling of the choir is painted in freſco, by the ſame Palomino of whom I have ſeveral times ſpoken, and who, in writing the lives of the Spaniſh painters, has given excellent inſtructions relative to the fine arts. However, it ſeemed to us, that at Salamanca he had not added example to precept.

A very officious monk preſented himſelf to ſhew us the curioſities of his church. We preſumed he would be our *Cicerone* for the paintings; but he led us directly to the ſhrine. Our diſappointed curioſity was a ſecond time obliged to put on the maſk of devotion, and immediately we found ourſelves in the midſt of a dozen ſoldiers and perſons of the loweſt rank, liſtening to a recital of the liſt of all the relics contained in the cabinet. My travelling companion, to whom his religion rendered theſe details

leſs

leſs intereſting than to the implicit believers, withdrew his attention, and employed himſelf in endeavouring to explain the *ex votos* with which he was ſurrounded. The demonſtrator, aſtoniſhed his ſervices ſhould be refuſed, recalled the wanderer, made him ſome exhortations which, according to the intention of the worthy monk, would have penetrated a mind prepared for grace; but the ſtrayed ſheep remained deaf to the voice of the ſhepherd. He vainly offered him ſometimes the nail, and at others one of the double teeth of ſome ſaint to kiſs, but the wandering brother ſuffered not himſelf to be prevailed upon. At length the monk came to a little box full of relics. Pope ſuch a one had made a preſent of it to the community. "We have nothing," ſaid he, "more precious, bring all your "chaplets and rub them againſt this col-"lection of ſpiritual riches." Every body preſent, except my companion and myſelf, eagerly obeyed the exhortation. We appeared a little confuſed at being ſurpriſed without that emblem of a good Chriſ-

Chriſtian, and the ſpectators began to look on us with an evil eye. We were quite unknown in the city; and preſently recollecting the holy office, with a ſlight impreſſion of fear, ſought for an opportunity to remove the ſuſpicions which we perceived were entertained of us. This we ſoon found; the monk ſhewed to his audience a relic which, he told them, was nothing leſs than ſome of our Saviour's hair. Each bent his knee, whilſt the dominican exclaimed: *Come near, this indeed merits adoration.* I approached with the reſt, and devoutly kiſſed the holy relic. The ſituation of my companion became a little embarraſſing. Was he, by his inaction, to declare himſelf an heretic; or might he, from reſpect to the company, conſent to do what to him appeared an act of idolatry? His choice was ſoon made; he was neither ſuperſtitious nor fanatical, and he took the reſolution to imitate us. I know ſeveral perſons of his perſuaſion, who would impute this to him as a crime; but I think him very excuſable

cuſable in permiting himſelf an act which to him muſt ſeem indifferent. This apparent veneration for an object we think unworthy it, is not certainly any thing more than bowing to a man in place whom we do not eſteem. And who amongſt us has not rendered ſuch homage? Beſides, this was a mere matter of courſe, I will add, almoſt of general polity. And what purpoſe would it have anſwered, to have offended ſo many people, by a tacit condemnation of their practice? In the eyes of an indifferent perſon the exterior acts of religion make a part of their manners. The times of fanaticiſm, when it was thought a merit to inſult the objects of a religion which was looked upon as idolatrous, and in which my maxims of toleration would have been conſtrued into ſo many crimes, are happily paſt. I however wiſh, for the honour of the Spaniſh nation, that as a religion different from that of the eſtabliſhed one, is ſuffered in the ſea-port towns of that kingdom, a traveller may be able to go over the whole conutry without

without being expoſed to the danger which my travelling companion, had he been leſs prudent, might have incurred in the church of the Dominicans at Salamanca.

I ſhall omit the enumeration of all the ſacred treaſures there ſhewn to us, except the bible of the famous anti-pope Benedict XIII. who was born in Spain, and depoſed by the council of Conſtance. "Take care," ſaid our conductor, "not "to confound him with a pope of the "ſame name who was of the Dominican "order; the latter was a real pope." We recollected the words of Moliere: *You are a goldſmith, Mr. Joſſe.*

The front of the church of the Auguſtin nuns is maſſive and loaded with a profuſion of ornaments, but the edifice in general is in a bad ſtate. It faces a caſtle of the duke of Alba, which in Spain is called a *palace*, as the poſſeſſions of the grandees of Spain are called *ſtates*. A part of thoſe of the houſe of Alba are

are in the environs of Salamanca; and, at the diſtance of four leagues from it, there is a city called after their name *(Alba de Tormes)* in which they have alſo a palace. But theſe *ſtates* and *palaces* ſuffer not a little by the continual abſence of their proprietors, proofs of which very frequently occur in making the tour of Spain. So long as the opulent landholders ſhall neglect to animate by their preſence their vaſt poſſeſſions, the patriotic ſocieties, eſtabliſhments of manufactures, encouragements for clearing of lands, and prohibitions of foreign merchandize, will all prove ineffectual to redreſs the evils which for two centuries have been undermining the Spaniſh monarchy. They are the moſt proper perſons to ſecond the efforts of adminiſtration and inſure their ſucceſs. How can they, who are conſtantly at ſuch a diſtance from their eſtates, redreſs the grievances committed in their names, project and execute plans of improvement, or encourage and facilitate the ſale of the productions of their lands?

So

So long as the obſcure and ruinous luxury which they diſplay at court and in the capital ſhall abſorb their riches, they muſt be deprived of the means of rendering them uſeful to their fellow citizens.

The ancient college of the Jeſuits, among the ſacred edifices at Salamanca, is that moſt deſerving our attention; it has been given to a community of regular canons, under the name of the church of *San Marcos*, or Saint Mark. In front is a magnificent portail of the Corinthian order. The ancient ſeminary of the Jeſuits, which, at the requeſt of the laſt biſhop of Salamanca, was dedicated to the education of thirty young eccleſiaſtics, eſtabliſhed there in 1778, is upon the ſame line. The ceremony of their admiſſion by the prelate is repreſented in a fine painting by Bayeux, a pupil of the famous Mengs, and one of the beſt painters now in Spain. The paintings upon the walls of the great cloiſter have for their ſubject the prin-

principal actions of the life of Saint Ignatius; the Jeſuits had them painted at Rome.

The back part of the edifice is occupied by a community of Iriſh prieſts; which cauſes the church of Saint Mark to be improperly called the Iriſh church.

Before we left Salamanca, we went to viſit the ancient Roman bridge of twenty-ſeven arches, over which, on leaving the city, we paſſed the little river of Tormes, and afterwards took the road to Madrid. This journey, including our return, was of about fifty Spaniſh, or ſeventy-five French leagues.

There is a city nearer to Madrid, and more celebrated than that of Salamanca, to which I made ſeveral journies; I mean the city of Toledo, the ancient reſidence of the Mooriſh kings, and the ſeat of the primate of all Spain. Toledo is ſituated upon the right bank of the Tagus, which ſurrounds it on all

ſides, except to the north; it is twelve leagues from Madrid, and ſeven from Aranjuez, the royal manſion from which I took my departure for Toledo. The road is uneven and badly paved, and ſeveral times recedes from and approaches the Tagus. Not far from Aranjuez, towards the weſt, the valley of that name becomes more open and ſpacious, and the banks of the Tagus, which is here wider, alſo are leſs decorated with trees and verdure. However, upon the road to Toledo they preſent ſome very agreeable proſpects; the river is hidden behind clumps of trees, and the eye wiſhes to diſcover it again, when inſtantly it appears watering the end of a meadow, or reflecting the image of ſome hamlet, till after a number of theſe pleaſing meanders it arrives at the walls of Toledo. But during its courſe the banks become higher, and a little craggy, and this river, which runs ſo ſmoothly near Aranjuez that it is with difficulty the eye diſtinguiſhes its courſe, or the ear can ſuſpect its vicinity, as it approaches Toledo,

Toledo, and, under the walls of that city, is heard from afar rolling with great noiſe over an uneven bed.

The ground, however, riſes inſenſibly; ſo that after having paſſed the bridge of the Tagus, which is of a frightful height, we find ourſelves on a level with Toledo, although a part of this city is ſituated upon a ſteep rock. Solitary ſtreets, houſes in ruins, and the almoſt total abſence of induſtry and affluence but ill agree with the idea formed of a city *, the firſt in rank in the Cortes of the kingdom of Caſtile †, which for a long time paſſed for its capital, and of which all the monuments prove the ancient ſplendour. Madrid, which in the latter centuries increaſed its population at the expence of the neighbouring cities, laid Toledo in particular under a heavy contribution. The aſpect

* It bore the pompous title of *Imperial City*. The king of Caſtile, Alphonſo VI. took it from the Moors, and with it the title of Emperor.

† Burgos diſputes with it the pre-eminence.

of the ruins and the barrenneſs of the environs concur in giving it an appearance of wretchedneſs, which, however, is in ſome reſpects contradicted when we enter their houſes, which are clean and neat to the extreme, a good quality rarely found where poverty reſides. The inhabitants of Toledo are not much inferior in this reſpect to the Dutch themſelves, and the great pains which the latter take to waſh their walls and windows, and to make all their furniture ſhine like glaſs, the former employ in defending the entrance of their habitations from the rays of the ſun, and in procuring coolneſs even in the middle of the dog-days. I viſited ſeveral of theſe little manſions after dinner; I thought myſelf tranſported into the palace of ſleep: nothing diſturbed the calm of their peaceful inhabitants. At three o'clock in the afternoon the ſun ſeemed ſet to them. The windows and lattices cloſe ſhut, the floors moiſtened by frequent ſprinklings, and large ſheets ſpread over their courts, all concurred to make

us

us forget the heat of the climate and the hour of the day.

The induſtry of the inhabitants of Toledo was not long ſince confined to theſe effeminate inventions. Within a few years they have ſhaken off that ſtupor to which they ſeemed condemned. Their prelate declared, with a charitable zeal, open war againſt indolence and wretchedneſs. His immenſe alms, which annually amounted to from fifty to ſixty thouſand livres (above two thouſand pounds ſterling) were unequal to the beneficence of his intentions. The Alcazar, the ancient habitation of the Gothic kings, has been almoſt entirely rebuilt under Charles V. but ſince the conflagration at the beginning of the preſent century, it has been in a ſtate of ruin: the only remains of this fine edifice were the fronts, and the principal court, ſurrounded with arcades, which leads to a magnificent ſtaircaſe. The preſent archbiſhop has had ſome part of the building repaired, all the rooms upon

the ground-floor have been properly arranged for the reception of ſilk looms, &c. which give employment to a great number of perſons, who, before this eſtabliſhment, were idle, and the productions of whoſe induſtry are already circulated at conſiderable diſtances from Toledo. The prelate has likewiſe founded an hoſpital for poor women and old men; he has alſo taken under his protection two hundred poor children, who are brought up at his expence, and are taught every thing neceſſary to fit them for arts and manufactures.

Such is the laudable manner in which the archbiſhop employs his leiſure and the ſurplus of his fortune. Thoſe who approach him, as I have ſeveral times had occaſion to do, perceive he is rich in knowledge and virtue; but nobody would ſuſpect the revenues of his ſee were very conſiderable. His manners have a truly apoſtolical ſimplicity, and he ſeems quite unacquainted with the luxury of the table. Notwithſtanding his

his punctuality in the fulfilment of his ſpiritual functions, he ſtill finds leiſure for literary amuſements. Before he was tranſlated to the ſee of Toledo he held that of Mexico; he there diſcovered the collection of the letters of Hernando Cortez; and, at his return to Europe, publiſhed them with obſervations. He has alſo given to the world ſome works of erudition, and, among others, a new edition of the Moſarabic Miſſal *.

* A collection of forms of prayer, &c. according to the ancient Moſarabic ritual, obſerved by the Chriſtians in Arabian countries. It differs from the Roman ritual in a few prayers, and the tranſpoſition of the ordinary ceremonies of the maſs; trifling differences which, perhaps, would eſcape hearers that were not very attentive. Having fallen into diſuſe, it was revived by cardinal Ximenes, who had it reprinted, and afterwards founded at Toledo a chapel, in which the ſervice has ever ſince been performed according to this ritual. In 1783, I heard there a Moſarabic maſs which the archbiſhop had ſung to gratify the curioſity of the Nuncio. This maſs is ſtill uſed in one of the churches of Salamanca.

The archiepiſcopal palace proves his averſion to magnificence, but the cathedral is one of the moſt noble ſacred edifices in Europe. Its foundation is dated as far back as the end of the ſixth century. During four hundred years it was in poſſeſſion of the Moors, and profaned by the Mahometan worſhip. Although recovered by Alphonſo VI. it preſerved the form of a moſque until the reign of St. Ferdinand, who gave it that under which it now appears. It diſplays all the ſumptuouſneſs of Gothic edifices, and in the reigns ſucceeding that of St. Ferdinand was enriched with *every kind* of decoration. The glaſs of the windows is covered with paintings in the moſt brilliant colours. Two of the fronts are remarkable for the number, finiſhing, and variety of the ſculptures with which they are adorned. The ſtalls of the canons merit a cloſe examination on account of the fine taſte and elegance of their baſs reliefs. Several of the chapels are equally worthy of attention for the paintings, and more particularly the tombs

tombs they contain. In the choir there are four of the latter, which are thoſe of the kings of Caſtile, who are commonly called *Reyes viejos*, old kings, and that of the cardinal Mendoza, one of the moſt illuſtrious prelates who have held the ſee of Toledo.

The chapel of the Virgin is magnificently decorated. Cardinal Portocarrero, who was archbiſhop of the ſee, was interred in front of it. His epitaph bears no reſemblance to that of Piron, as Mr. Peyron has careleſsly aſſerted in his eſſays on Spain. The latter was compoſed in a moment of epigrammatical ſpleen; but that of the cardinal breathes chriſtian humility and has nothing of the epigram. *Hic jacet pulvis, cines, et nihil*; "Here lies "duſt, aſhes, nothing." This is very different from the peeviſh pleaſantry of the author of the *Metromanie*:

Ci-git Piron, qui ne fut rien;
Pas même Academicien.*

* Here lies Piron, who was nothing,
Not even an Academician.

In

In the chapel of St. James our admiration and meditation are excited by the tomb of Don Alvar de Luna, the illuſtrious and unfortunate favourite of John II. and that of Donna Juana Pimentel his wife. We may there reflect on the inſtability of the favour of kings, and the vanity of monuments, ſomewhat more durable it may be, but whoſe majeſtic ornaments cannot diſguiſe the inſignificance of human greatneſs. In vain are inſcriptions pompous, like thoſe of theſe two tombs; they ſerve merely to tell us the heros they immortalize have once exiſted, but are now no more. The ſame chapel contains the tombs of ſeveral relations of the favourite: among others, that of the archbiſhop of Toledo, one of the fineſt in the cathedral.

I recommend to the curious traveller to viſit the monument of another archbiſhop, Don Juan de Contreras, and that of a biſhop of Avila, in the chapel of St. Ildefonſo. But the moſt remarkable chapel of all in this reſpect is, that of the new kings

(delos

(delos reyes nuevos) which, beſides being richly decorated, contains the tombs of ſix kings or queens of Caſtile, each bearing an inſcription and a ſtatue recumbent on a ſepulchral urn. The ſight of theſe recalled to my memory the following elegant lines:

Pour mieux repreſenter leurs grandeurs abattues,
L'artiſte ſur le marbre a couché leurs ſtatues *,

The capitulary hall contains the portraits in ſucceſſion of all the archbiſhops of Toledo; a valuable collection, not only becauſe many of theſe prelates, as Mendoza, Ciſneros, Tavera, Albornos and Tenorio eſtabliſhed themſelves a fame independant of their dignity, and that ſome of them who held this ſee were of the blood royal, as Don Louis, brother to the preſent monarch, but becauſe ſeveral of their portraits take date from the revival of the art of paint-

* The artiſt, better to repreſent their fallen greatneſs, has extended their ſtatues on the marble.

ing

ing in Spain, and that by comparing them the different gradations through which it has paſſed may be clearly diſcovered; and laſtly, becauſe ſince the time of cardinal Ximenes (known in Spain only by the name of cardinal Ciſneros) they have all had the merit of reſemblance.

In the cathedral are ſeveral other paintings worthy of attention; eſpecially thoſe in the veſtry. An Aſſumption by Carlo Maratti; one of the maſterpieces of Dominico Greco, a pupil of Titian; a painting not much inferior to the beſt of that great maſter; and one of the capital works of de Orrente, a Valencian painter, of whom I have already ſpoken. The ceiling of the veſtry is painted in freſco, by Luca Giordano, and is not the leaſt excellent of his productions, eſpecially in this kind of compoſition. He had alſo a particular talent in imitating the manner of other painters, a proof of which is ſeen in one of his paintings in an apartment adjoining

ing to the veſtry. This is a baptiſm of Chriſt, which thoſe who are not real connoiſſeurs would certainly take for one of the beſt productions of Raphael. The ſame apartment, called *El Veſtuario*, contains ſeveral other valuable paintings; among others, the birth and circumciſion of Chriſt, both by Baſſan; a Samaritan woman, by Rubens, a Saint Agnes, and a Pope ſeated, in which is diſplayed all the wondrous powers of the pencil of Vandyk.

I might mention ſeveral other remarkable paintings with which the cathedral of Toledo is enriched, were not I apprehenſive of fatiguing the reader by too minute an exactneſs; but I cannot refrain from ſpeaking of a production by a Spaniſh painter, little known in his own country, although very deſerving to be ſo. The name of this artiſt is Blas de Prado, a native of Toledo, one of whoſe pictures is ſeen in the cloiſter of the cathedral. The moſt indifferent connoiſſeur cannot but be ſtruck by the cor-

correctneſs of the drawing, the excellence of the colouring, and eſpecially by the ſoftneſs of expreſſion in the figures. It repreſents the Holy Virgin ſurrounded with ſeveral ſaints, and crowned by angels, in preſence of a knight in compleat armour. I confeſs that notwithſtanding the reſpectable names of the painters, whoſe works I have above mentioned, this gave me a pleaſure which, on viewing them, I had not experienced, and that when I heard the name of the artiſt, I had the weakneſs to reproach myſelf for my admiration. I am of opinion, that ſeveral virtuoſi have frequently found themſelves in the ſame ſituation: in ſuch caſes they endeavour to juſtify themſelves in their own eyes, and redouble their attention to diſcover the perfections of the great maſter, and the defects of the obſcure painter, as if men of ſuperior talents did not frequently ſink to mediocrity, or mediocrity did not ſometimes ſoar above itſelf. Beſides, does not accident in every purſuit often beſtow greater repu-

reputation than real merit? How many men have paſſed their lives in obſcurity who, had they met with patrons and praiſe, would have ranked with thoſe of ſuperior talents!

The cloiſter of the cathedral in which the excellence of the paintings of Blas de Prado was pointed out to me, though I think I ſhould of myſelf have diſcovered it, is remarkable in ſeveral other reſpects; it is very ſpacious, and the architectural proportions extremely fine; the walls were once adorned with tolerable good paintings in freſco, which were beginning to yield to the ravages of time and humidity, when the preſent archbiſhop confided the care of repairing them to the beſt painters Spain at preſent can boaſt. Meſſieurs Bayeux and Maella began the undertaking in 1777, and when I left the kingdom, they had nearly compleated their work. The paintings repreſent the principal actions of the life of Saint Eugenia and Saint Leocadia, patrons of the cathedral, and thoſe of ſome other ſaints

ſaints famous at Toledo by their zeal for the Chriſtian religion. The ſubjects appeared to me intereſting, and ſome of them had a great effect. I was particularly ſtruck with the ſoft and affecting expreſſion of a Santa Caſilda, a young princeſs, who from the top of the palace of her father, ſtill a Pagan, ſtretches out a hand of ſuccour to the Chriſtians languiſhing in the priſons of the perſecuting monarch.

I might give a long enumeration of the ornaments, furniture and vaſes conſecrated to divine ſervice in the cathedral; a ſufficient idea may be formed of them by conſidering that Toledo is one of the richeſt ſees in Chriſtendom, that it has frequently been held by pious prelates, who would have thought it a reproach on themſelves had they made a profane uſe of their opulence, and that it has always had many opportunities to benefit by the munificence of the ſovereigns of Spain. I ſhall only remark farther, that the curious are ſhewn a throne

throne of maſſive ſilver, weighing twelve hundred and fifty pounds, on which is placed an image of the Virgin. Behind the choir is a piece of ſculpture, in the very worſt taſte, and for what reaſon I know not, called the *Tranſparent*. It is a modern work, which diſfigures inſtead of embelliſhing the edifice. Piety, or rather credulity, will find there a much more curious monument. This is a ſtone which bears the impreſſion of the feet of the Holy Virgin; ſhe placed them upon it when ſhe deſcended from heaven to bring to Saint Ildefonſo the firſt chazuble or prieſt's cap; a miracle which a modern ſculptor has perpetuated in one of the chapels of the cathedral. This piece was juſt finiſhed when I ſaw it for the firſt time, and it ſeemed to me to do more honour to the chiſel of the artiſt than to religion. The rough ſtone which bears the proof of the miracle, more precious than the hiſtorical marble, is expoſed to public view behind an iron railing. I dare not ſay of what country the

feet are of which it preſerves the form; but I ſhould not ſcruple to aſſert, they did not belong to a Chineſe.

After the cathedral there are ſeveral other edifices which merit the attention of the traveller. Such is the hoſpital of Saint John the Baptiſt, of which the porticos, courts, and the church in particular, ſufficiently prove, by the elegance and exactneſs with which they are executed, the period of its foundation to have been about the middle of the ſixteenth century, at the ſame time that they do honour to the good taſte of the founder, cardinal Tavera, who has there a magnificent tomb. The latter was the laſt work of Alfonſo Berruguete, an able ſculptor, formed in the ſchool of Michael Angelo, and honoured with the favour of Charles V.

Another fine foundation of the ſame kind which Toledo owes alſo to one of its prelates, (Cardinal Mendoza) is the found-

foundling hoſpital, or the hoſpital of Santa Cruz, an edifice ſomewhat in the Gothic ſtyle, but of which nothing can be particularly admired except the finiſhing of the ornaments and the principal ſtaircaſe. In the church there are ſix great paintings of the ſchool of Rubens, and which for a long time were thought to be by the hand of that maſter.

Another aſylum open at Toledo to ſuffering humanity, alſo claimed my attention. This is an hoſpital for the inſane. There are two principal ones in Spain; one at Saragoſſa, the other at Toledo. I went ſeveral times to the latter, and was always ſurpriſed at the cleanneſs and regularity which I conſtantly found there; and comparing my obſervations with thoſe I had made in the hoſpitals of Valencia, Burgos, Cadiz, the general hoſpital of Madrid, and ſeveral other inſtitutions of the ſame kind, I could not but admire how different devotion and chriſtian charity render

men from themſelves, in what a manner they triumph over their defects, and create in them virtues to which they ſeem ſtrangers. The Spaniards are as magnificent in the decorations of their temples, as ſimple in thoſe of their private houſes. On examining their pious foundations, their indolence and dirtineſs, two accuſations from which they cannot be intirely abſolved, are forgotten. Had religion conferred but this one beneſit upon mankind, it would ſtill be highly worthy of our love and admiration. But I ſhall be told that, on the other hand, it has awakened in them deſtructive paſſions which ſlept in their boſoms. Religion is the mother of ardent fanaticiſm and barbarous intolerance, as well as compaſſionate charity. But without examining whether religion may not diſown ſuch children, let us congratulate ourſelves that we are born in an age when, even in Spain, it is greatly purified from the baſe alloy by which it was too long diſhonoured.

It

It is time, however, to return to the hoſpital for the inſane at Toledo.

The ſight of ſuch a place has always ſomething in it afflicting to humanity, even when viewed with the curioſity of philoſophy; but I confeſs I have never felt the ſentiment of thoſe who ſay they are humbled at the ſight of this degradation of human reaſon. I never feel humiliation except when I can make compariſons to my own diſadvantage. What claſs in the creation is better treated than the human ſpecies? If any other be ſo, is our ſituation ſuch as to make us bluſh before it? Shame ſuppoſes a reciprocal conſciouſneſs between the being which feels, and that by which it is cauſed. We know not angels; beaſts are unacquainted with us; and inſanity being an involuntary defect from which no perſon is ſecure, I ſee not in what manner any individual of the human ſpecies can feel humiliation at the ſight of a madman; he himſelf would not feel

it were he capable of a reaſonable ſentiment. The drunkard and paſſionate man are thoſe who ought to bluſh; they rebel againſt the reaſon which would reſtrain them. The madman, no longer under its empire, is the ſlave of a power which has ſubjugated it without his conſent; he is not to be pitied unleſs when lucid intervals give him a knowledge of his ſituation. Except in theſe caſes, a wretch racked with the gout ſeems to have a greater claim to compaſſion. With theſe preliminary reflexions, the aſylums of humanity deſpoiled of its moſt exalted endowment, may be entered with a greater degree of compoſure. I found but one man raving mad in the hoſpital at Toledo; he was a prieſt, who, from the wretched bed to which he was chained, uttered uninterrupted execrations againſt the principal perſonages of the kingdom of Spain. I beheld in him only a ferocious beaſt in an human form, whoſe roarings were expreſſed by words. Without blaming

or

or pitying him, I fled from his approach. His companions were much leſs frightful. I particularly remarked a Franciſcan Monk who had preſerved his habit, and had wrapped up his head in a wig made of paper: his only mania was that of mounting on a ſtone, and thence, as from a pulpit, delivering ſcraps of ſermons, which he mingled with facetious jokes, and ended with making capers. In 1783, I had paſſed a quarter of an hour amongſt his audience; two years afterwards I again appeared before him, and was not a little aſtoniſhed at his recollecting me. I admired this inexplicable oddity of Nature, which in ſo ſeverely treating his intellectual faculties had ſtill preſerved to him a happy memory. Is not this another problem for metaphyſics to reſolve?

Before I finiſh my obſervations on Toledo, I muſt not omit to take notice of an invention which is an honour to that city. I mean the famous machine

now gone to ruin, invented by a Cremonian of the name of Juanelo, to raiſe the water of the Tagus into Toledo. According to the deſcription we have received of it by tradition, it muſt have been extremely complicated, and for that reaſon could not but make the ſupply of water more dear to the inhabitants than it has been ſince the labour of mules has been ſubſtituted to carry water from the river to every houſe in the city. Several attempts have been made to ſupply the want of the machine of Juanelo by ſimilar inventions. The mules, however, have triumphed over every conſpiracy againſt them, and remain in poſſeſſion of their painful functions.

Near the ruins of this machine there are others more ancient, which muſt have been a part of an aqueduct erected to convey, on a level with the Alcazar, the water from a ſpring ſeven or eight leagues from Toledo. This is one of

thoſe works, equally uſeful and magnificent, by which the Romans have marked their reſidence in ſeveral places in Spain; nor is this the only Roman monument of which the remains are found in the environs of Toledo. Near a convent of Minimes, on the outſide of the city, I diſcovered the ruins of a circus, and not far from the caſtle of St. Servant the traces of an old Roman road.

Thus the Romans, the Arabians, the Goths, and the Spaniards of the time of Charles V. by turns improved and embelliſhed Toledo. I cannot ſay as much for the modern Spaniards. Houſes out of repair, fine edifices going to ruin, few or no manufactures, a population reduced from two hundred thouſand to twenty-five thouſand perſons, and the moſt barren environs are all that now offer themſelves to the ſight of the traveller drawn thither by the reputation of that famous city. Under the preſent reign

ſome

ſome ſucceſsful efforts have been made to recover it from the univerſal decay into which it is fallen. We have ſeen that the archbiſhop has rebuilt a part of the Alcazar, and eſtabliſhed there ſome manufactures of ſilk. The blades of Toledo were formerly famous for their temper and ſolidity. Charles III. has erected a very ſpacious edifice for making them; and the experiments already made ſeem to promiſe that the modern citizens of Toledo will not in this reſpect be long inferior to their predeceſſors.

The inhabitants of this city would ſcarcely pardon me were I to paſs over in ſilence their *Cigarrales*. Theſe are little country houſes, which I can compare to nothing that they more reſemble than to the *Baſtides* which ſurround the city of Marſeilles, except that they are leſs ornamented and not ſo numerous. Upon the banks of the Saone, the Loire, or the Thames, theſe cigarrales would diſho-

nour

nour the country. In the barren part of Caſtile they are delightful retreats, and in the heat of the dog-days offer coolneſs and repoſe amid the ſhade of orchards. It is nevertheleſs impoſſible to arrive at them except by the ſweat of the brow, in croſſing ſome burned and unſhaded meadow, or climbing over rugged hills. They are however, the garden of Eden to the inhabitants of Toledo, why therefore ſhould I attempt to deſtroy the pleaſing illuſion?

I ſhall here conclude the account of my travels in Spain, or rather the deſcription I promiſed of that kingdom. I do not pretend that my journies from Bayonne to Madrid, from Madrid to Valencia, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Salamanca, Toledo, &c. have furniſhed me with ſufficient knowledge to enable me to give intire ſatisfaction with reſpect to the curioſities of all kinds to be found in Spain *, or the productions, manners

* In matters of curioſity, it would have been neceſſary for me to have viſited and deſcribed the Mooriſh

and government of the different provinces. The general account I have endeavoured to give of theſe preſent (at leaſt I ſo would hope) what may in this

Mooriſh antiquities of which Granada contains almoſt the only remains to be found in Europe; the Roman antiquities of Tarragona, Alcantara, Merida, &c. the ſacred treaſures in Saragoſſa, Saint Jago de Compoſtella, and other monuments of the pious magnificence of the Spaniards, ſome whole provinces and moſt of the ports of the Peninſula. My principal intention was to make known modern Spain under preſent circumſtances, which remain not like chains of mountains, and the courſe of rivers to be obſerved during ſucceſſive ages, and to render to the inhabitants that juſtice which at preſent is their due. What may be wanting in my work will be found in the *Eſſais ſur l'Eſpagne*, by M. Peyron, [prefixed to this work] who, by a primature death, was prevented from compleating them; but chiefly in the *Viage de Eſpana*, by the Abbé Pons, who has particularly deſcribed the monuments of every kind, good, indifferent and bad, ancient and modern, ſacred and profane, which are to be found in Spain. This work is not yet finiſhed; but it already proves, to the moſt difficult readers, the author's indefatigable patience and love of his country.

reſpect

reſpect gratify the curioſity of thoſe who wiſh to be acquainted with a foreign country without reſiding in it for a conſiderable time, and free from the prejudices hitherto as prevalent as ill-founded. My object was not to write a book merely for amuſement. If this be intereſting it is, perhaps, ſo from the variety it contains. A work which ſhould have been thought profound would have been above my capacity, and one entirely frivolous appeared to me unworthy of the time I had dedicated to writing my journal and obſervations, and of the claſs of readers whoſe ſuffrages I am anxious to obtain. In all I have ſaid I have endeavoured to preſerve a juſt medium between the enthuſiaſm which extols every thing, and the ſpirit of defamation which ſpares nothing. May I hope it will be allowed that I have fulfilled my intention? Will the Spaniards be of opinion that I have treated them as well as they did me? I ſhould be very ſorry were they

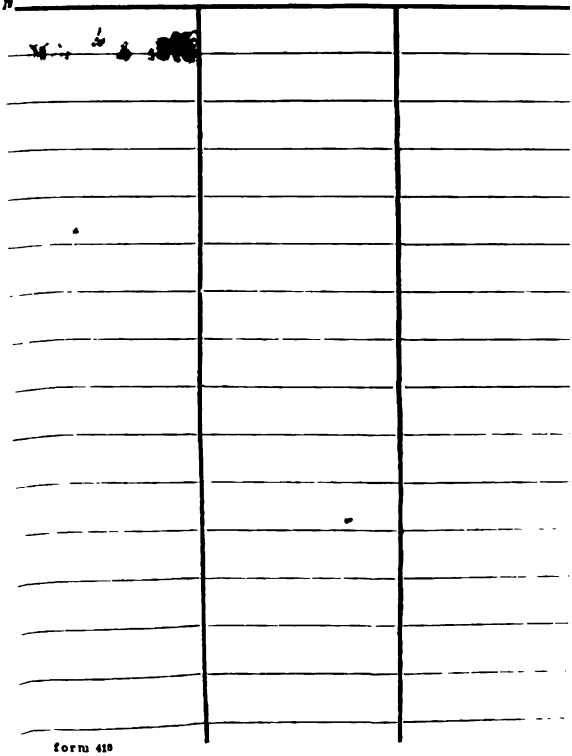
they to accuſe me of want of gratitude, but my other readers would have juſt cauſe of complaint had I ſuffered that ſentiment to influence my judgment.

END OF VOL. II.

FS

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building



form 418